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Chernyshev Views Gorbachev Disarmament Policy

LD1501100691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1243 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS military observer Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan—Tomorrow it will be five years since the announcement by Mikhail Gorbachev of Soviet Foreign policy set out in the statement of 15 January 1986. The document essentially laid out a strategic course with regard to the West and specific long-term aims in all spheres of disarmament.

Now that a five-year period has elapsed, it is a good idea to consider where the strong aspects of this program lie and why it is working successfully. At the same time, of course, it should be borne in mind that, from the outset, the Soviet disarmament plan was not presented as dogma. The world has changed, we ourselves have changed, and our vision and perception of the world have changed. Naturally, time limits have moved, the plan has been altered and added to, and intermediate stages have been introduced on the path toward the final goals.

First of all, it should be pointed out that the comprehensive nature of the disarmament program has justified itself. Its core is, without doubt, the plan for the elimination of nuclear arms. But at the same time it includes specific proposals for the destruction of chemical weapons, conventional weapons, and so forth. At present, it is clear that the path toward a nuclear-free world lies through deep cuts in armed forces and conventional weapons to the level of reasonable defense sufficiency, a shift toward defensive doctrines, and the formation of a comprehensive international security system. All these elements are interconnected and they must be viewed as an inseparable whole, without regarding more rapid advancement in certain areas as impossible, however. As we see it, it is precisely the comprehensive nature of the Soviet program that has made possible breakthroughs on the path of reducing various weapons—nuclear, chemical and conventional.

The second substantial element in the program which has already displayed its effectiveness in practice, was the gradual approach of arms reductions. Thanks to it, treaties and agreements can be drafted sufficiently quickly, without waiting for a drawing together of positions on all the controversial issues in one sphere of disarmament or another. The sides have rejected the previously widely used approach to talks according to the principle of "either all or nothing." With the conclusion of the INF Treaty a fundamental breakthrough was implemented in interpreting the process of nuclear disarmament, and the first step was taken toward a reduction in nuclear arsenals. The second step will be the treaty on strategic offensive weapons. The start of the talks on tactical nuclear weapons is next.

The third element to which I would like to draw attention is the establishment in the program of temporary frameworks for the achievement of the goals set, that is distinctive schedules for the movement on the talks. Acknowledging that the terms were not realistic throughout, it should for all that be noted that this had a definite influence—in many aspects the movement along the path of disarmament was speeded up.

If one speaks as a whole, it should be stressed that the program drawn up is operating effectively. Practice has shown that the disarmament program is not a Utopia. Both the East and the West are moving away from the fixed patterns of the past, from the stockpiling of an ever increasing quantity of armaments to the achievement of security and stability. Never before the Soviet Union submitted its program were such a large number of such important treaties and agreements successfully concluded.

Paper Views 'All-European Process' Progress

PM1001102391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 91 Second Edition p 5

[Vladislav Drobkov commentary: "At a Turning Point Between Two Eras; Europe Forges a Path from Confrontation to Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] In the afternoon of 19 November 1990 at the International Conference Center on the Avenue Kleber in Paris, where the heads of state and government from the CSCE countries were assembled, the USSR president gave an address.

"Our meeting is taking place at a turning point between two eras and is itself a very major event," Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said. "At present, few can comprehend all the consequences of this turning point—that will perhaps take a very long time. But there is one thing we can say with confidence: This year has been decisive in the era we are now leaving, which has been marked by two world wars and almost 50 years of nuclear antagonism between two social systems." [passage omitted]

Apart from the CSCE summit in Paris, 1990 also saw other events within the framework of the all-European process: the conference on the human dimension in Copenhagen; the conference on economic cooperation in Europe in Bonn; and the conference on the Mediterranean in Majorca. They all helped to develop and strengthen good-neighborliness in Europe. The all-European process was thereby given a powerful boost.

Does this mean that henceforth it will go without a hitch, as they say? I am sure that it will not. The contradictions and problems that have accumulated in Europe during the Cold War decades are too serious. We are still left with the products of that era: military-political structures which, although now changing in nature, still prevent the strengthening of trust and good-neighborliness on the continent.

The lack of uniformity in levels of socioeconomic development in different regions of Europe also harbors serious dangers. But the greatest threat of all is posed by the obvious revival of nationalist and separatist movements in modern-day Europe and the appearance of claims for the redivision of territory and the revision of existing borders. They could undermine the formation of all-European structures and prevent the building of a common home. It is impossible to build a sound edifice by demolishing and re-using existing walls and ceilings, changing the design as you go along, and redrawing the layout of "national apartments."

...Who knows, perhaps the heads of state and government taking part in the all-European process were thinking about these very problems on the way to a new peaceful, democratic Europe as they listened to M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Paris? In any case, they mentioned them more than once in their own speeches. But hope rather than unease was the leitmotiv of the Paris meeting—as it is of the entire present situation on our continent. No one can deny that good, extensive groundwork was laid in 1990 and the strong framework of an all-European home erected. Now we have to work together to continue building it.

USSR Foreign Policy in 1990 Reviewed

91UF0321A Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Jan 91 p 3

[Article by P. Vorobyev: "Rapid Course of 1990"]

[Text] The year 1990 accommodated so many events that in a different era they would have taken decades. The main ones developed alongside us—in Europe and in the Near East. Such rapid processes cannot be painless. It is hard to come to grips with them and difficult to choose the right policy without succumbing to inertia and the stereotypes of yesterday. Psychologically, 1990's diplomacy was arduous and frequently thankless labor. What are its results?

Many people are inclined to view them mainly through the prism of E.A. Shevardnadze's resignation. I do not wish to yield to this temptation. The emotions evoked by the minister's surprise step are cooling, but the facts remain, despite the hasty criticism of him, which, it seems, is starting to become the fashion.

I have already written that there have been no serious arguments to back up the exasperated attacks on our foreign policy of recent years. Behind them we can see something else—a reluctance to part with the tenets and structures born of the "cold war." They have cost us dearly, directly and figuratively, and it is a shame that there have been many people prepared to defend them. "Holding on" to the old was impossible, for all that.

In situations where events in the world, particularly in neighboring countries, are developing with dizzying speed, the most important thing is to avoid mistakes. We recall the start of the year gone by. The train of German unification was gathering speed. No one expected such a pace, but nor was anyone denying the Germans' right to a single state. Were the present critics proposing that we lay down beneath this train or stop it in some other way, perhaps? With tanks? If they were, then following their advice would have been a big, irreparable mistake. This would have put an end to the attempts to build civilized relationships in Europe for a long time.

In the face of the changes which gripped all of East Europe the Soviet leadership was not about to renounce the principles of freedom of choice and noninterference in the affairs of other countries for the sake of old propaganda cliches. Was this an easy choice? I suspect not. And not only because there were in the country's leadership at that time many people devoted to the "precepts" of the era of confrontation. But for the further reason that it was not only they who were really concerned about the country's long-term security, which had for decades been built on these very precepts.

What will the role of a united Germany be in the changed Europe? How should we build relations with our neighbors on a new footing? How much in the way of armament is sufficient under the new conditions? The answers to these and many other questions had to be found quickly.

Ultimately the evaluation of the results of the foreign policy year depends on whether the right answers were found and whether it was possible under the conditions of the most strict diplomatic time limit to lay the foundations of the country's security for the foreseeable future. I am sure that when the dust settles, as they say, it will become clear that our country's external security has not been weakened but strengthened as a result of the changes which have occurred.

On what does the country's security depend? On the numbers of troops and the quantity of arms deployed beyond its borders or on the nature of relations with one's neighbors and also with the great powers? To look at things objectively, only the second answer is possible. Particularly considering the fact that the insurance reserves of conventional and nuclear arms left to us after all the impending cuts are very substantial.

Instead of reasonable sufficiency, the decades of "superarmament" have today led to it being we who have to cut the most. But others are reducing their military spending and armed forces also. Primarily a united Germany. This fact has sometimes gone unnoticed in the stream of commentary. But it merits attention. In three years of fulfilling the treaty signed in Paris the number of tanks in Germany will have been reduced from 7,300 to 4,000, of armored vehicles, from 8,800 to 3,000, and of artillery systems, from 5,000 to 2,100. The numbers of Germany's Armed Forces will also have been reduced by 125,000 men compared with the FRG's present level—up to 370,000.

The process of the withdrawal from Europe of U.S. forces has already begun, although the Americans are evidently hoping to maintain some military presence on the continent. It is agreed, however, that there will be no foreign forces on the territory of the Eastern part of Germany following the withdrawal of Soviet forces from there within a four-year period. This is not that short a time for their withdrawal, incidentally, and they can perfectly well arrange matters so that no one has to be accommodated in tents in the snow.

The accords on the external aspects of German unification are a real plus for the efforts of Soviet diplomacy in 1990. Just like the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan a year earlier. These are links of a single policy. I do not doubt that history will credit to the present generation of politicians and diplomats the fact that in a few years there will be no Soviet forces outside of our territory.

It is not easy for everyone to adapt to the realities of the new Europe. These realities are becoming established largely independently of what we might wish. It is a pity that we were unable to foresee the depth and scale of the changes which have proven necessary both in our country and in our neighbors in East Europe. But the fact that we did not impede them predetermines, I believe, the irreversibility of the mutual renunciation of confrontation with the West, primarily the United States. Because our words about new thinking and freedom of choice are now really believed.

The world has not, however, become any simpler or more predictable. Iraq's aggression against Kuwait was a dramatic reminder of this. Our adherence to principle, as, equally, our capacity for avoiding mistakes in major international affairs, was once again put to the test here.

Saddam Husayn said in a recent interview that the USSR's position in the conflict in the Persian Gulf came as a surprise to him. Precisely. The long-standing relations with Iraq, profitable to our country, the allergy to the U.S. military presence in the region and the distrust of U.S. intentions, the ambivalent response to aggression in the Arab world—it was on these and other factors, evidently, that the Iraqi leader was counting. They seemed highly convincing to some people in our country also. But basing our foreign policy on them would have meant, like it or not, encouraging the aggressor. Doing so at the initial stage of building new international relations would have been a major miscalculation which could have reduced to nothing the many achievements of past years.

We are now pondering with understandable concern primarily how this conflict will be resolved—peacefully or militarily. Nonetheless, the main thing which we should be thinking about in determining our policy is what the outcome of the conflict will be. It can hardly be doubted that this outcome will not be favorable to Iraq. Its aggression against Kuwait is an adventure which will end badly sooner or later. Just like the years-long war with Iran, it will produce for the aggressor no benefits. This should be borne in mind by those who would now like to "adjust" Soviet policy in respect of the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

Undoubtedly, a peaceful settlement of the crisis remains preferable for everyone. Is it possible? It would seem to me personally that it is. One has the impression that diplomatic efforts are unfolding backstage of the conflict whose culmination will come quite soon. We will see, as they say. It seems to me, incidentally, that, despite all our domestic difficulties and a certain inevitable weakening of our influence here, the USSR's role in the Near East will continue to be quite substantial.

The impact, for that matter, of the crisis which we are experiencing on the USSR's foreign policy positions requires a separate big discussion. Not everything is that simple here. A certain cutback in the extent of our foreign commitments has long been a demand of the times. It has long been time to take a closer look at who our friends are and whether we need enemies, what we are seeking in the world and whether this is worth seeking. Reality and history have decided much for us. In 1990 the majority of elements of the future picture of the world have fallen into place.

It is therefore possible to forecast events for the coming two or three years with a sufficient degree of confidence. This will most likely be a period of removal of the old conflicts and the maturation of new ones, which it will be necessary to forestall in good time. Mentions of Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia will gradually disappear not only from page one but also from page three of newspapers. But will it be possible to avoid friction and conflicts even between certain East European countries? Unfortunately, the possibility of such exists, and it is being increased by the centrifugal trends not only in the USSR but in other countries also and possible border disputes.

Another focal point of pain is the Near East. As long as the Arab-Israeli conflict exists, this region will remain a powder keg. The possibilities of destabilization, extremely dangerous for the whole world, what is more, are enormous here. But the crisis in the Gulf has, it would seem, aroused Americans and forced them to think about the need for practical steps toward a Near East settlement. A stimulation of diplomacy in this region may for this reason be expected this year.

Finally, it is not that pleasant writing about this but, in the opinion of many observers, the main factor of uncertainty virtually in 1991 will be the development of events in our country. Will it be possible to halt the crisis processes and stabilize the economy and the Union? And if not, what will the international consequences be? Disturbing questions. The worst, I hope, will not happen. But repairing our ship and simultaneously charting a course in the sea of international events will be very difficult.

Petrovskiy Reviews 45th UN General Assembly

PM1001120191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Unattributed interview with V. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister—date and place not specified: "United Nations in the Light of the Future; Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V. Petrovskiy"]

[Text] [IZVESTIYA] The regular 45th UN General Assembly session ended at the end of last year. How did it differ from the 44 previous sessions? How successful has the United Nations been in keeping pace with the time?

[Petrovskiy] We are going through a period of far-reaching change, with the previous world order—founded on confrontation between two systems and two "superpowers"—becoming a thing of the past. At the new stage, cooperation between states in resolving general tasks of civilization is taking center stage. The role of the United Nations is also being highlighted in a new way. One must admit that the process of reviving and boosting the organization's effectiveness was to a considerable extent possible due to the spirit of partnership establishing itself in Soviet-U.S. relations. This was reflected in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement entitled "Responsibility for Peace and Security in a Changing World" adopted in the course of the session.

The decisions adopted in the course of the 45th UN General Assembly session encompass a most extensive range of universal human problems ranging from disarmament to the fight against drugs, from the settlement of regional conflicts to universal cooperation to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident, from the principles of free elections to dialogue on unified energy strategy. It is extremely important to ensure that the whole international community condemns violence with virtually one voice, as well as recurrences of strong-arm policy such as the Persian Gulf crisis which has been provoked by Iraq.

[IZVESTIYA] You are speaking of the United Nations' positive potential. However, the UN Charter was adopted 45 years ago. Has it not become outdated?

[Petrovskiy] The charter was indeed adopted when the international community had only just emerged from the conflagration of World War II, full of determination to deliver future generations from the disasters of war. This task has in many respects been accomplished today: The threat of global conflict has been rolled back. However, the danger of small local wars persists. New challenges have emerged, like, for example, the environmental threat, overcoming economic backwardness, ensuring the nonproliferation of nuclear, chemical, and missile weapons, and cutting the volumes of the international arms trade. By and large the international community has not as yet felt itself to be a single organism. In this respect the charter—as a basis of states' coordinated actions—remains topical and, I am convinced, will remain so in the future.

However, the emerging task is to produce a new reading of the charter. After all, some of its provisions were dropped in the past in favor of various ideological concepts, while others, on the contrary, were overemphasized. That is inadmissible.

What is more, some members of the international community today favor reforming and, possibly, restructuring the UN model in view of the new situation in the world. The parameters of international cooperation are increasingly shifting toward the economic potential of a particular country or group of states. In particular, the economic and political potential of countries like India, Brazil, Nigeria, Mexico, Indonesia, Argentina and others has a most direct effect on the development of world processes. The question of increasing the number of permanent members of the Security Council is being raised. For instance, an opinion has been voiced that Japan should be given new status within the UN framework, along with united Germany and the EC as a whole.

While fully acknowledging their role and influence in the world, we do nevertheless think that this question requires most serious and well-considered reflection. The existing UN structure is sufficiently flexible and wide-ranging for any countries and interstate associations to play a highly active part in UN activity, including the work of the Security Council, in line with their clout on the world arena. Existing UN mechanisms have by no means exhausted their potential.

[IZVESTIYA] In your opinion, is the USSR's role and place in the United Nations changing?

[Petrovskiy] The new challenges of the time indisputably make it necessary for us to review our attitude to the United Nations, in particular against the backdrop of its growing role in shaping the new world order. Two years ago M.S. Gorbachev, speaking at the United Nations, set out our view of the organization's strategic role within the new structure of international relations. Developing these ideas, the Soviet delegation to the 45th session made detailed proposals as regards the United Nation's place and role in the process of establishing a new world system. The USSR's memorandum entitled "The United Nations in the Postconfrontational World" contains a broad range of ideas prompting coauthorship on questions of enhancing the output from the work of principal UN organs in key areas of its activity.

[IZVESTIYA] Can the United Nations in practice help us to overcome difficulties that arise?

[Petrovskiy] Without doubt. Suffice it to say that the draft resolution on international cooperation in alleviating and overcoming the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station], which was submitted on our initiative during the 45th UN General Assembly session, won an unprecedented—within the United Nations—group of sponsors; it was coproduced by 120 delegations from all groups of countries and regions of the world. The practical return from the resolution resides in the fact that it envisages the formulation of a special Chernobyl program within the framework of the UN system and the enlisting of additional funds for these purposes which will allow us to utilize resources and front-ranking world expertise to provide the afflicted regions, their population, and future generations with comprehensive assistance.

The resolution on enterprise which was adopted with our coauthorship may serve as another example. It directs the UN system toward mobilizing world experience in stimulating the market orientation of all countries' economy, including the USSR.

The General Assembly's decisions on social issues and, in particular, such issues as cooperation in the fight against organized crime, drug abuse, and illegal drug trafficking, improving the position of the disabled and the elderly, and on human rights problems are of considerable practical interest to the USSR. High international standards in the sphere of mother and child protection, which it is useful to consider in the work of the country's and republics' legislatures and governments, have been enshrined in the final documents ratified by the session of the World Summit for Children which was convened in New York within the General Assembly framework on UNICEF's initiative. The UNICEF German Committee's initiative on humanitarian aid for Soviet children is one of the first practical results.

Examination of disarmament topics within the UN framework is also directly linked with the conversion of military production, the affirmation of openness in the military sphere, and the reorientation of military potential in connection with the demands of reasonable defense sufficiency.

Take such an area of UN activity as the prevention and settlement of regional conflicts. This year a major breakthrough was made in the political settlement in Central America and the prospect has emerged of resolving the Cambodian problem—all this has been achieved with the active participation of UN mechanisms. Thus there is emerging a real possibility of reducing our expenditure incurred through indirect involvement in these conflicts and turning to the development of truly mutually beneficial, politically and economically profitable relations with the countries of these and other regions of the world.

The idea of increasing the preventive potential of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole to avert conflicts as they arise seems promising. The activity of the Military Staff Committee as a rapid response organ for neutralizing aggressive actions must be filled with real substance. The possibility of forming a kind of "volunteer corps," that is, civilian UN troop subunits staffed on contract principles could be considered as an alternative.

[IZVESTIYA] IZVESTIYA recently published a series of articles on UN problems which, in particular, broached questions of the international civil service. Why has the USSR Foreign Ministry only now realized the need to bring the practical work of posting Soviet specialists to international organizations into line with approved international norms and standards?

[Petrovskiy] I must indeed acknowledge that for many years we by no means seemed highly appealing on this question. I want to say straightaway that it is not only and not so much a matter of the Foreign Ministry (although our ministry's "contribution" to the unsavory situation that prevailed cannot be denied). There are enough devotees of the administrative edict nomenklatura everywhere who think in terms of calling others to order. Nevertheless the fact remains that it was the Foreign Ministry that raised the question of bringing Soviet cadre policy in international organizations into line with generally accepted international standards back in 1982. A long road had to be covered and major obstacles overcome to finally come to our government's recent decision. Departmental cadre services were set up and matured during the period of totalitarianism. They would act as overseers of "moral-political purity" posted to international organizations, effectively establishing a barrackroom regime for them, instead of performing purely professional functions. It was not at all simple to persuade "career cadres" of the need for a new (more correctly, civilized) interpretation of the UN concept of "secondment"—that is, temporary assignment of state employees to work in international organizations' secretariats. It is time to grow accustomed to the fact that "secondment" is not a lever for pressure on secretariats and their staffers by the assigning state but a kind of insurance policy for the assignees to international organizations, a guarantee that they will be provided with suitable employment at home at the end of their contract.

The resolution that has just been adopted by the 45th UN General Assembly session enshrines this approach; it recognizes that the "secondment" principle accords with the UN Charter, asks the secretary general to review the procedure for concluding "secondment" contracts, and also urges member states to observe their commitments to their citizens working on such contracts. I want to note with regard to this appeal that in the course of the assembly session the USSR directly confirmed its commitments to those Soviet staffers who have voluntarily decided to retain their links with their government on the "secondment" basis.

I hope that this, like other decisions adopted by the 45th UN General Assembly session, will help enhance the effectiveness of the organization's work. As a universal organization the United Nations can, after all, within the current system of interstate relations promote regional processes and act as a kind of center and connecting link in the global coordination of efforts in the political, economic, environmental, and other spheres.

To sum up what I have said I would like to stress that the results of the session and the process of enhancing the United Nation's role—a process that is gaining momentum—reflect the prevailing trend in today's world toward developing multilateral dialogue and filling it with new substance. Much has to be considered here, and the developing criteria and principles of panhuman communal life must be viewed in the light of the present day and future prospects.

United States & Canada

Reports View U.S.-Soviet Feb Summit Postponement

Attributed to Gulf Conflict

LD1201195991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Boris Kalyagin from Washington]

[Text] Reports have appeared in the U.S. press to the effect that the White House would like to postpone the summit meeting which is scheduled to take place in Moscow in February. Our correspondent Boris Kalyagin reports from Washington:

[Kalyagin] U.S. President Bush has not said anything about this himself. No official representations have been made by the U.S. Administration. THE NEW YORK TIMES, however, quoting official sources, says that the White House has instructed the State Department to study the possibility of deferring the summit meeting to a later date. It says that the reason for this decree is that the U.S. President would not like to be in Moscow during a military conflict in the Persian Gulf region, when he would have to act as supreme commander-in-chief of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Such an explanation is still understandable, although the sides did take the Kuwait crisis into account when the date for the meeting was discussed. One is alarmed by other arguments being put forward as additional reasons for deferring the visit to Moscow, however, namely that Washington is unhappy with the slow pace of disarmament talks, or that the U.S. Administration is concerned by the Soviet authorities' decision to send paratroop detachments to the Baltic Republics. This already begins to look like an attempt to exert political pressure on our leadership. Admittedly, Marlin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, has indicated that the United States still plans to hold the summit talks in February. In saying this, however, he hinted that there was always the possibility that the visit to Moscow could be postponed.

One hopes, in spite of this, that the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush will go ahead on time. After all, the normal continuation of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue is in the interests of both our countries.

'Complicted Issues' Cited

LD1301133191 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Text] American newspapers claim that the Soviet-American summit due to take place in a month's time may be postponed. Why? Among the cited reasons there is the Persian Gulf crisis, certain doubts about the ways Moscow is implementing the agreements on reducing conventional weapons in Europe, and also domestic events in the Soviet Union. Mikhail Mayorov elaborates, and this is what he writes.

Complicated issues do arise in world politics in general and in relations between the two superpowers in particular. One can understand President Bush if he decides not to leave the country in the event of a war with Iraq. Discrepancies connected with such a delicate matter as disarmament are only natural, but it is the duty of diplomats and the military to work toward removing the elements of mistrust if they arise during the implementation of large-scale agreements.

Soviet-American relations have lately been improving only because the two sides have learned not to slam the door on each other after encountering this or that difficulty in their dialogue. What is really puzzling, however, is an attempt to link another summit so many global events depend on to domestic events in the Soviet Union. The White House and the State Department have been alarmed by the firmness in the defense of Union constitutional norms that Moscow has started displaying of late in its approaches to the situation in certain republics. But defense of the constitution is a sacred duty of any head of state, including that of the United States.

Why should Washington fear then that the Soviet Union might slide to a dictatorship? Incidentally, prior to that Washington expressed concern over the state of chaos and the impotence of the central power in the Soviet Union.

In the last few years Moscow and Washington have achieved the most important thing—bilateral relations have become predictable. Is the temptation really so great to put things in reverse, back to the times when the dynamics of contacts resembled the swaying pendulum? Some observers say that the appearance of such publications in the American press should not be given too much attention to. [sentence as heard] The information leakage is allegedly the usual practice of Washington when, prior to a regular summit, it sends warning signals to the other side. But each of us has already come to believe that changes taking place in Soviet-American relations are irreversible. If there emerges something that runs counter to the spirit of our time, intuition makes us immediately think about the undesirable recurrences of the past.

A-12 Aircraft Program's Cancellation Viewed

PM1101111391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by V. Nadein: "The Elusive 'Avenger' Shot Down by the Missile of Deficit; the United States Scraps the Program for Creating the Most Up-To-Date Bomber"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney has ordered that the A-12 "Avenger" attack aircraft program be scrapped; the aircraft was to be one of the U.S. Navy's most important means of offensive combat operations.

This program was drawn up in 1988 and was designed to meet the Navy's needs for a carrier-based aircraft capable of carrying all types of armament and penetrating unhindered through the best radar defense. Its total cost has increased constantly and at the end of last year around $52 billion was needed to complete it.

By the time the project was concluded, there would have been 620 combat-ready aircraft.

The development of events in the last two years was so swift and so unlike that in the preceding two years, that it became obvious to many specialists that the program was doomed. Such aircraft in such quantities and, most importantly, at such high cost, are no longer needed.

Now we can only guess whether the secretary of defense would have resorted to decisive actions or not had it not been for a scandal that blew up about a month ago. It was discovered that the giant companies "General Dynamics" and "MacDonnell Douglas" seriously overran the agreed estimates and asked for even more. It also came to light that two admirals had very kindly, shall we say, signed inflated cost estimates.

Both admirals, together with a captain who was directly involved in preparing the financial documents, were forced to resign by R. Cheney and already at that time people were saying that the program was doomed, not so much because of shady deals in the United States as because of changes in the USSR.

If you remove the reservations, this "Avenger" was intended for vengeance against only one opponent—the Soviet Union. Not many countries in the world possess radar that has been so well-perfected that it was worth making such a fuss about the elusive "Avenger." But they all are friends of the United States.

All except the USSR.

But when this exception became past history, this ruled out the need for a strikingly expensive program. The A-12 aircraft will not be built in the foreseeable future. Furthermore, R. Cheney has also ordered an end to the research work which, although cheaper, has also cost the tax-payer $6.2 billion.

U.S. mass media are unanimous in noting that this was not an easy decision for the secretary of defense to make. Both companies, which were carrying out a research and production program, immediately announced that they were making 7,000 people redundant. The accusations against these corporations, which were a pretext for breaking off the contract, are by no means indisputable and may become the subject of a legal suit against the administration. It is quite obvious that work "at the forward edge of technology," in other words on the brink of the unknown and the yet-to-be-revealed, can never be accurately costed in advance. There are many examples of this—including our Baykal-Amur Main Railroad, where people simply lost count of money after a single year, and the Channel tunnel, where calculations were made very meticulously and yet still overran the estimates threefold.

But the main point is that the secretary of defense, who is a civilian, is deliberately giving priority to national aims that are reflected in the government's political synthesis.

Now, at a time when it is unclear how the situation in the Persian Gulf will be resolved, it emerges that this year's expected federal budget deficit will not be contained within the planned framework of $250 billion. "Congress has just adopted a package of budget defict reductions—the largest in the country's history," according to the director of the Congressional Budget Office, "and now we are being threatened with the largest deficit in our history."

In these circumstances, the civilian who heads the military department according to U.S. tradition did not hesitate in the face of the sacrifices—and they are indubitable—that have had to be made at the altar of disarmament: unemployment in the military industrial complex, dissatisfaction among the professional military, and reproaches to the effect that the great country may not be sufficiently protected in the future.

One last detail: The distinct smell of gunpowder, which has recently been wafting to this edge of the Atlantic from the deserts of the Arabian Peninsula, has not stopped the Pentagon from adopting this tough decision, either.

China

Reports Continue on Rogachev's Visit to China

Marks 'Maturity' in Relations

PM1401124991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "USSR-China: Proximity of Positions Noted"]

[Text] Beijing—I.A. Rogachev, the USSR president's special representative and USSR deputy foreign minister, made a stopover in Beijing for several hours on his way back to Moscow from Seoul, where he had met with Republic of Korea leaders.

The purpose of the stopover was to have political consultations with leaders of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The fact that such consultations have taken place as early as the beginning of January this year is yet more evidence of the maturity of our relations. Problems had accumulated which we had to discuss and on which we had to coordinate joint and parallel actions. In an interview with Rogachev your correspondent asked: "A PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman recently expressed regret over the lack of success of the Geneva meeting between Baker and 'Aziz and reiterated the need for a peaceful solution to the crisis. Did you discuss the Persian Gulf situation?"

"It was the first point in our consultations," the deputy minister replied. "This was the third time recently that we had exchanged views, and to all intents and purposes our positions coincide with Beijing's. The situation is alarming. China once again confirmed its unchanged position: to exploit any chance for peace, since war threatens a catastrophe with unpredictable consequences. We talked about mediatory steps. Chinese colleagues think that action by the Arab countries could be effective. And together we are, of course, relying on Perez de Cuellar's mission."

A political settlement in Cambodia was the second topic of the dialogue. In Rogachev's view, the focus of the current discussion is how to achieve more harmony and unity between the Khmer sides themselves. They agreed to continue the meetings between representatives of all sides in order to set up very soon a coordinating committee of the Paris Conference to include all participants in this conflict.

A USSR-PRC dialogue about the situation on the Korean peninsula began 18 months ago, and Rogachev discussed this problem with his colleagues on this occasion, too. "We have much in common in our assessments of this crisis," he indicated. "The conflict is intensifying: A strike force of 1.5 million soldiers armed to the teeth is concentrated in an area of only 220 square km. We consulted over what means could be employed to ensure that the dialogue between North and South is not broken off. Although three rounds of meetings (at head of government level) have produced no particular results, we are united with Beijing in the view that many more meetings are required in order to move forward."

In dialogue on bilateral relations I.A. Rogachev singled out talks on cutting arms and Armed Forces along the Sino-Soviet border. Much has been written about them, but in Rogachev's view the talks' importance far exceeds the framework of bilateral relations. They are the prototype of what will be starting in the near future on the scale of the Asian-Pacific region.

In Rogachev's opinion great progress has been achieved in the border talks. The stage of legal formalization of the agreed sectors has begun. It was decided not to wait for agreement on the whole border (7,520 km) from end to end.

Rogachev Comments

OW1501132391 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] A few days ago, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev visited China. The following is a statement he made to our reporter (Popoyan):

Rogachev said: In the course of consultations with Chinese Foreign Ministry leaders in Beijing, we discussed a wide range of questions of common interest. Among them, the most important question was, of course, the issue of the Gulf situation. I wish to stress that the Soviet Union and China shared a practically identical stance with regard to this situation. Both our country and China held that every possible effort should be made to prevent a war. In the consultations in Beijing, we also discussed the situation in Cambodia. We compared our stands and discussed ways to achieve an identical view on this question. We agreed that we would continue to work in this regard in the near future. Both the Soviet and Chinese sides held that a drafting committee for the international conference in Paris on the Cambodian issue should be established in the near future, and this committee should include representatives from all participant countries of the conference. After the establishment of this committee, both the Soviet and Chinese sides agreed, it may hold a meeting immediately. At the final stage of the meeting, necessary amendments should be made to the series of documents for solving the Cambodian issue so that they will be more exact and appropriate.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev continued: In conversations with my Chinese counterparts, we also discussed the situation on the Korean peninsula. Both the Soviet Union and China held that talks should continue between North and South Korea. Although at this time, they achieved no results in the talks over the past three years, they should continue their efforts to reach an agreement.

In the statement, Rogachev pointed out that, in the Soviet-Chinese consultations in Beijing, they also discussed relations between the two countries. Both the Soviet Union and China, he stressed, were satisfied with the stability and development of Soviet-Chinese relations last year. Both sides held that talks on reducing Armed Forces and increasing confidence along the common border are of vital importance. The importance of such talks is far beyond the scope of bilateral relations, emphasized Rogachev.

In conclusion, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said: I believe that such talks are a model for dialogues on military detente. This kind of dialogue, I believe, will soon begin in the Asian and Pacific region.

Northeast Asia

Soviet General Meets North Korean Army Chief

LD1401003291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Text] Pyongyang, 13 Jan [TASS]—The Soviet military delegation headed by Army General K.A. Kochetov, first deputy minister of defense of the USSR, which is in the DPRK on an official visit, met Choe Kwang, chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army [KPA].

The delegation went to the military academy named after Kim Il-sung and a KPA military unit, and visited Mangyongdae, the home of the president of the DPRK.

A ceremony took place on 12 January in which over a thousand servicemen of the KPA took part. Army General Kim Kwang-chin, vice minister of the People's Armed Forces of the DPRK, and the head of the Soviet delegation addressed the meeting. Those who spoke stressed the importance of the development and strengthening of friendship between the peoples and armies of the two countries for peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region.

Laptev, Mongolian Counterpart Hold Talks

PM1401123191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] First acquaintance—that is how I.D. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Legislative Group and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, and S. Zorig, head of a Mongolian Legislative Group delegation and chairman of the Mongolian Legislative Group Executive Committee, described their meeting in Moscow 10 January.

Relations with the Soviet Union, the head of the Mongolian delegation said, mean more to us than our relations with other countries. Bilateral legislative ties can contribute to their successful development. It is vital in this respect, he said, that both sides better understand the problems facing each of our countries and their interests.

The friendly conversation continued in this spirit. The guest described the nature of the changes taking place in his country. In its turn, the delegation was briefed on the current political and social situation in the USSR, the arrangement of forces in the Union legtislature, and the tasks facing it.

Mongolian Ambassador to the USSR N. Mishigdorj took part in the conversation.

Near East & South Asia

No Change Seen in Gorbachev's Gulf Policy

LD1401114191 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

Moscow January 14 TASS—As the Gulf crisis reaches its height, reports have appeared in several foreign and Soviet publications that the Soviet leadership's policy of close cooperation with the United States on the issue may be changed. The "forthcoming changes" are explained by "group" interests in the Soviet president's entourage.

The leaders of these "factions" are being named. According to the BOSTON GLOBE newspaper, one of them is Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, who has resigned. Adherents of his course, which had allegedly prevailed within Gorbachev's entourage, "want to go the whole hog" in supporting the U.S. Administration. They are allegedly opposed by "Arabist" Yevgeniy Primakov. According to the BOSTON GLOBE, his supporters are prompting the president to seek a way out of the crisis, which would allow Saddam Hussein to "withdraw from Kuwait without losing face".

Some Soviet publications, for instance, the NEW TIMES weekly, claim that Shevardnadze "masterminded" Soviet policy and created an atmosphere of trust and interaction with the United States.

This speculation is naive, because such a huge country as the Soviet Union must not and cannot base its policy on the will of individuals, even if they are prominent statesmen, or on some sort of "narrow group" interests, the very existence of which within the Soviet president's entourage is extremely dubious.

Many political analysts believe attempts to present Shevardnadze as a "mastermind" of the policy Mikhail Gorbachev has pursued from the very day he came to power hold no water, though they recognise and do not wish to belittle the importance and merits of such a gifted organiser of Soviet diplomacy as Shevardnadze.

One veteran Soviet political scientist said that "people who draw such conclusions forget and seem to deliberately omit the fact that all major foreign policy moves were in recent years initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev and the Presidential Council, including the Middle East policy".

He recalled, specifically, that the first statement issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry after Iraq's invasion "went half way". It said, according to the scientist, that Saddam Hussayn was our friend and we regretted his actions while, on the other hand, we could not help condemning the aggression.

"This was a very balanced and cautious stand," the experts added, "and it did not contain the slightest hint at any pro-American policy, which is now ascribed to Eduard Shevardnadze."

Another high-ranking Soviet adviser, head of a renowned political research institute, has linked the Soviet Union's stand on the Gulf crisis directly with Mikhail Gorbachev. The very first statement made by the Soviet president in Moscow on Iraq's actions and Gorbachev's Helsinki declaration made a few hours later in the presence of George Bush and for all the world to hear, he recalled, "unequivocally confirmed the Soviet Union's clear-cut stand, condemning the aggression."

"The initiative did not come from the Soviet Foreign Ministry, but the statement was couched in tough terms against Saddam Hussein," he said.

These facts show that it is naive to expect Soviet Gulf policy to change after Shevardnadze's resignation, because it was initiated personally by the Soviet president.

Churkin Examines U.S.-Iraq Geneva Talks

91UF0335A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Article by M. Yusin: "Soviet Response to the Results of Geneva Talks"]

[Text] An IZVESTIYA diplomatic correspondent approached the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs for comment on the results of talks between Baker and 'Aziz. Chief of the Information Administration Vitaliy Churkin familiarized us with an official statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this issue:

"Yesterday, a meeting was held in Geneva between U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker and T. 'Aziz. Judging from the reports we have received, it did not produce positive results.

"Such an outcome of the meeting is profoundly regretted because certain hopes for overcoming the acute crisis in the Persian Gulf on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions and the clearly stated will of the world community were attached in the world to holding a direct American-Iraqi dialogue.

"On 15 January, a 'good-will pause' will come to an end. In the Soviet Union, we are convinced that the most vigorous political and diplomatic effort should be undertaken in order to move the Persian Gulf region away from the abyss of a military conflict.

"We welcome the mission on which UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar intends to visit Baghdad, and call on all sides, in particular on Iraq, to recognize how serious this moment is, and to show the feeling of responsibility for the future of the region and their peoples which is invariably necessary in such a situation."

Churkin said that on the night of 9 to 10 January, Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker had a phone conversation. The secretary of state informed the Soviet minister of the results of his talks with Tariq 'Aziz.

Vitaliy Churkin also stated that on Wednesday, 9 January, the evacuation of Soviet specialists from Iraq was completed. Eighty-two people arrived in Moscow on the last Aeroflot flight. As of today, 150 Soviet specialists, as well as embassy staff, remain in Iraq on a volunteer basis.

Responding to a question on whether the USSR is planning to evacuate all of its diplomats from Baghdad (like some Western states), Churkin said that the number of staff at our embassy in Iraq has already been reduced to "a necessary minimum," and the issue of the complete evacuation of diplomats is not being raised as of now. At the same time, a decision has been made to evacuate the wives and children of Soviet diplomats and specialists from three states that are immediately adjacent to the possible combat area—Jordan, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates.

Journalists Examine Situation in Baghdad

91UF0307A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondent V. Afanasyev: "Unpredictable War"]

[Text] Baghdad-Moscow—In the 25 years since I was last in Baghdad, striking changes have taken place in the city: it has expanded, been developed with modern and handsome buildings and become more attractive. Site preparation for new construction is under way. Even if one takes a shorter interval of time and compares its outlines on a map of the 1960's and on a map issued 10 years later, even then the difference is obvious.

The second thing I noticed was how the people of Baghdad have changed. It seemed to me that they have become more guarded and that they smile less. Although one notices more often in their eyes concern and sadness, they like, as before, a good joke and know how to do it justice. At the same time, they conduct themselves with dignity and, it seemed to me, more proudly and independently than 25 years ago.

We, a group of Soviet journalists, had flown to Baghdad at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture and Information of Iraq. We were given an emphatically cordial welcome, and efforts were made to take account of all our wishes and make the program of our stay intensive.

I was very much interested in the question of ordinary Iraqis' attitude toward the events in the region.

Of course, Iraq had perpetrated aggression against Kuwait, a country with which it had direct diplomatic relations. Territorial and other claims cannot be decided by force. Sooner or later, I expressed this opinion repeatedly to Arabs at various levels: Iraq will have to get out of Kuwait. Each normal person cannot fail to sympathize with the Kuwaitis experiencing all the burdens of occupation and to share the pain of those who are emphatically opposed to the loss of their country's independence.

But, first, why must the entire Iraqi people top to bottom pay for the mistakes of the leadership? After all, according to foreign press reports, Pentagon headquarters are already drawing up plans for "punishing the aggressor" by inflicting on him powerful bombing and missile assaults and tank attacks from several directions. A war against Iraq would be waged not only on the territory of Kuwait but on the former's territory also. At the same time, however, voices expressing the need to "democratize" Iraq and "have done with the Saddam Husayn regime" are being heard constantly, including in some of our publications. This is, if you do not mind me saying so, a matter exclusively for the Iraqi people themselves.

Account should also be taken of the fact that for the Arab the family and his own hearth mean far more, most likely, than for Europeans. It is sufficient to tell an Arab: "Your home will be demolished" to become his enemy. When he says that he will fight to the end, even if all those dear to him perish and his residence is turned to ashes, I believe he is sincere. With everyone with whom I spoke in Iraq, young men or old men and women, I invariably heard: "We do not want war, but when we are attacked, we will fight to the last man."

I know from my long stint of work in the East that Soviet citizens are usually not advised to go about the city alone. It is not a question of some "vigilant supervision" of people there. Not knowing the language, customs and laws of the country, a foreigner could suddenly find himself in an extremely difficult situation. I know of many such instances. On this occasion, in spite of such warnings, I spent several hours over two days walking around the city alone, relying entirely on my own experience of working abroad, the calm atmosphere in the capital and the hospitality of my hosts. I called at stores and stands and got into conversation with Baghdadis on the street, not concealing the fact that I was a Russian and a journalist. Not once did I hear any bad language from anyone.

Earlier, however, upon learning that I was from the Soviet Union, the Arabs would readily enter into conversation and invite me to their homes, but now I read in their eyes sadness, puzzlement, and sometimes derision. Earlier the words "friend" and "comrade" were customary in dealings with Soviet people; this time, however, I did not hear them once. For me personally this says a great deal.

Yet how to punish the aggressor? To start a war against him? Are the possibilities of a peaceful solution of the conflict already exhausted? No, and once again, no. The declaration of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation between states in accordance with the UN Charter says that "states that are party to an international dispute and also other states should refrain from all actions that might exacerbate the situation to the point where the preservation of international peace and security is endangered and should act in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations." Consequently, it is essential to prevent by all measures the use of Armed Force against Iraq as an aggressor.

While recognizing that the Kuwaitis have the right to fight for the liberation of their homeland by all means available to them, we need to orient ourselves primarily toward political and economic sanctions that could be applied in respect of Iraq. Israel and international Zionism, however, are continually nudging the United States toward a power solution of the problem, the destruction of the Iraqi Army and a forcible change of regime. Tel Aviv sees this as "punishment" of Iraq. But this would be a war against the Iraqi people, against women and children.

Life is undoubtedly difficult for Iraqis now. We could not fail to see that many families are barely making ends meet. Basic foods are being strictly rationed and sold at fixed prices. The rest are being sold on the market, where prices jump depending on availability and the situation.

Each party to the dispute should have an incontrovertible right to be heard. Otherwise there will be no dialogue. We speak of the restructuring of our foreign policy, of the priority of values common to all mankind and of much else. So why do former enemies now understand us better than our friends? Are we right about everything? Why have we thrown out the baby with the bath water?

Russian, English, French, Spanish, German, Hebrew, Persian, and Turkish are studied in the language faculty of Baghdad University founded three years ago. There are more than 400 students in the Russian Department here.

"We are grateful to the Soviet people for their support and assistance in previous years," Dr. Emad al-Din Musa, dean of the faculty, told us. "Unfortunately, there has been a change in the position of the Soviet Union of late. More than 400 children have already died in our country owing to the shortage of milk and medicines. This is a consequence of the blockade. Do you not think that this is aggression against the Iraqi people? Why is no one talking about Israel's nuclear weapons but going on and on about the atom bomb that we are alleged to have? Do the Iraqi people not have a right to defend themselves by all available means that are or will be at their disposal?"

I also talked with a "man on the street." This was Husayn al-Nakkash, who sells copper items in the Souq as-Safafir in Baghdad. He is 41 years old and has nine children. Business for him is going just as well as before the annexation of Kuwait.

"The United States is pursuing its own interests in the region," he said. "Is Kuwait American land? We will beat off an attack on Iraq. I believe this."

Of course, Iraqis' opinions have to be taken into account. There is food for thought here.

Saddam Said To Anticipate Protracted War

91UM0255A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by Major General A. Ivanov: "When D-Day Comes"]

[Text] We are now six months into the large-scale military-political drama in the Persian Gulf, which was started by the sudden and rapid operation of Iraqi

Armed Forces to occupy Kuwait. The final act of the drama has not yet been performed, but its approach is being perceived increasingly strongly as the deadline, determined by the well-known UN Security Council resolution on the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from the occupied territory, expires. The likely scenarios for the further development of the situation and their possible consequences both for the region and for the world as a whole are acquiring increasingly distinct outlines.

As of the present time 22 countries have dispatched their forces as part of the so-called multinational force of the anti-Iraq coalition. In addition, Iraq is being opposed in the conflict by the Arab states of the Persian Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman. Thus there are 27 states in the anti-Iraq coalition as a whole. The total numbers of their Armed Forces deployed on the Arabian peninsula and in the Persian Gulf zone constitute, it is estimated, more than 500,000 persons. This is a grouping with more than 3,500 tanks, over 8,000 field artillery pieces and mortars, approximately 1,600 warplanes, and over 100 warships, including three modern U.S. strike aircraft carriers.

It is clear to the nonspecialist what enormous military power, even only on one side, is concentrated in quite a limited geographical area in the north of the Arabian peninsula and in the waters of the Persian Gulf. If, however, we take the Iraqi Army, which has, according to various information, from 750,000 to 900,000 soldiers and officers, more than 5,000 tanks, from 7,500 to 8,000 guns and mortars and over 700 combat aircraft, we may easily imagine the scale and consequences of a probable encounter between these two enormous military groupings. Of course, not all the forces cited above may be engaged simultaneously. This will surely not be the case. But even half of them, say, are sufficient to unleash a devastating war in this strategically important region.

The approach of "D-Day" is eliciting more and more talk and opinions concerning the likely timeframe of the switch by the Americans and their allies to active, that is, combat, operations against Iraq and the possible nature of these operations. In view of the fact that virtually no one is talking any longer about the Iraqis' voluntary departure from Kuwait, one has the impression that the decision to launch an assault on Iraq has been finally made in Washington and the other capitals allied to it and that it is necessary only to "observe the proprieties," that is, to wait until 15 January.

Inasmuch as in the event of a war with Iraq the U.S. Administration and the leadership of the Pentagon will endeavor to achieve their ends as quickly as possible and with minimum losses, paramount significance is attached to the creation of overwhelming superiority to Iraq in forces and weapons, the ascertainment in full of its strong and weak points and the choice of the most expedient forms and methods of operations of its forces. Judging by the reports which are coming in, particular hopes are being placed in the overwhelming superiority to Iraq of the United States and its allies in terms of aviation, naval forces, highly accurate weapons, and electronic warfare.

An analysis of the sum total of evaluations and forecasts makes it possible to assume with a sufficient degree of certainty that the American command would try in the course of a possible war with Iraq to primarily fully realize its superiority to Iraq in weapons and equipment, that is, give priority at the first stages of an armed conflict to the operations of aviation and the Navy.

This would mean in practice that, while effecting a strict defense by their armies, the Americans and their allies, conducting an operation to take out Iraq's air defense and Armed Forces command and control system, would try to win total domination in the air and simultaneously by launching concentrated air attacks and sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missile attacks to destroy Iraqi aircraft, operational-tactical missile launchers, armored forces assault groups and enterprises of the military-industrial complex. Only following the accomplishment of these tasks would the American command, evidently, embark on combat operations by the Army and the Marines for the purpose of liberating Kuwait and performing follow-up operations beyond it.

In the opinion of foreign military observers, this is the most likely plan of operation for the forces of the United States and its allies under current conditions in the event of war with Iraq. This does not mean, however, that adjustments appropriate to the actual conditions of the military and political situation by the start of an armed conflict would not be made.

In examining the military preparations of the United States and its allies we cannot, naturally, ignore the activity of the other side—Iraq. The Iraqi military-political leadership is also making serious preparations for a possible war. With a well-armed Army with the experience of the eight years of war with Iran, Saddam Husayn and his closest associates are, to judge by everything, anticipating a lengthy confrontation with the Americans. In the south of the country and on occupied Kuwaiti territory alone Iraq has deployed an Army group consisting of 35 divisions and 25 brigades. Defenses disposed in depth and with field fortifications have been created here. Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council is implementing wide-ranging measures to prepare the Armed Forces and the country for war: Reservists are being called up, new formations and units are being formed, and civil defense assignments are being rehearsed.

The opposed groupings are essentially ready even now for the start of combat operations. The military measures of the United States and its allies, which have been intensified in recent days, have increased appreciably the likelihood and danger of a war being unleashed in the Persian Gulf, the consequences of which could be unpredictable both for Iraq and for the countries of the anti-Iraq coalition. The denouement of the conflict is, to all appearances, approaching. Nonetheless, I would like to hope that the conflict will be settled by political means, not at the price of enormous losses.

International Legal Issues in Gulf Examined

PM1501124291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview with G.B. Starushenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by V. Skosyrev; place and date not given: "Will War Be Declared? The Persian Gulf Conflict From the Viewpoint of International Law"]

[Text] The "goodwill interlude" granted to Iraq by the international community expires 15 January. If the last attempts to settle the conflict by peaceful means produce no results, war could begin. But even given that tragic turn of events, it is incumbent on states to observe the norms of international law. That is the subject of our interview with G.B. Starushenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Skosyrev] Gleb Borisovich, first of all I would like to know, does UN Security Council No 678 allow the United States and other members of the "anti-Iraq coalition" to attack Iraq at any moment, or must they first declare war? Has that custom now become obsolete? As far as I can recall, the last time such an act took place was in 1945, when the Soviet Union declared war on Japan.

[Starushenko] The custom whereby a state of war began only from the moment of its formal declaration existed in international law until the beginning of our century. In 1907 the Hague Convention, reflecting the desire of states to lessen the threat of surprise attack, made the declaration of war compulsory. But with the adoption of the UN Charter, which banned war as a means of resolving international disputes, the very concept of "declaring war" largely became meaningless. Wars, alas, did not disappear, but they are not declared nowadays. But military operations to rebuff an aggressor are permitted by the UN Charter. The case of Iraq comes under this category. As for sanctioning the commencement of hostilities, decisions on that score are adopted by states in accordance with their national legislation. For instance, the U.S. Congress has given President Bush the "green light" for the use of all necessary means to implement the Security Council resolution. On the other hand, in many cases U.S. presidents have used Armed Forces abroad even without Congress' approval for such actions.

Military operations against Iraq, if they are undertaken, will not necessarily begin on 15 January. That was explained recently by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar.

[Skosyrev] What will be the legal position of diplomats and foreign citizens in Iraq if an armed conflict begins?

[Starushenko] With the start of military operations the host state must promote the speediest possible departure of enemy diplomats and consular staff. Sometimes they are detained until the return of the host state's own diplomats is ensured.

Enemy citizens may be placed under the supervision of the local authorities, and their right to move about the country and choose their place of residence is restricted. In line with the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 enemy citizens may be interned, in other words, sent on a compulsory basis to special places of settlement, where they should be granted the means to exist and medical help. Prisoners of war are also subject to internment.

The state property of the enemy, with the exception of the property of diplomatic and consular missions and certain other types of property, may be confiscated. Merchant ships which are in the enemy's harbors may be detained until the end of the war or commandeered.

[Skosyrev] There are still about 300 Soviet specialists, diplomats, and staffers of other institutions in Iraq. As you know, our leaders have stated that Soviet troops will not take part in military operations against Iraq. What does that mean for our citizens?

[Starushenko] The position of the Soviet diplomats and specialists who opted to stay in the country is determined by the status of our state in the conflict. The Soviet Union is a noncombatant state. Therefore the status applicable to states participating in military operations cannot be extended to its citizens. They should enjoy all the rights enjoyed by foreigners in Iraq, and the diplomats retain diplomatic immunity. The Iraqi authorities are responsible for the safety of all foreign citizens in the country.

[Skosyrev] How should Iraq's threats to use chemical weapons be assessed from a legal viewpoint?

[Starushenko] As you know, the use in the course of military operations of asphyxiating, toxic, or other gases and liquids and of bacteriological weapons is banned by the 1925 Geneva Protocol, which is still in force today. It is noteworthy that not even the Hitlerites risked making wide use of these weapons in World War II. Subsequently the international community has been taking steps to bring about the total banning and destruction of such types of weapons. Thus the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction was signed in 1972.

But the humanitarian aspect of the problem is also important. Since the use of weapons of this type, because of their peculiar characteristics, will inevitably be directed against the civilian population, which is categorically banned under the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols on the Protection of the Civilian Population (1977), no state is entitled to violate the letter and spirit of these documents. By taking such a fateful step, it would be deleting its name from the list of civilized states.

[Skosyrev] The American press has said that the United States and its allies intend to make maximum use of their superiority in the air. But aviation strikes, to say nothing of missiles, will inevitably inflict great damage on the civilian population. What does international law have to say about this?

[Starushenko] Hostilities can only be waged against the enemy's Armed Forces, not against civilians. There should be no "carpet bombing" as in Vietnam or massive strikes against cities and settlements. International documents contain clear and specific provisions on this point. For instance, Additional Protocol 1 of 1977 states directly that the civilian population (if it is not participating in military operations) should not come under attack. The protocol also states that installations and facilities necessary to the survival of the civilian population (crops, water reserves, the residential environment, dams, and so forth) are not to be destroyed.

Since the United States and its allies are operating in accordance with UN resolutions, this makes it incumbent on them to observe particularly punctiliously the humane principles of international law.

Anti-U.S. Feelings Reported in Pakistan

BK1501125591 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1100 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report by (Rustam Guliyuvin) from Islamabad]

[Text] United States Ambassador to Pakistan Robert Oakley has advised Americans living in Pakistan to leave the country. It is believed in Islamabad that the advice came immediately after demonstrations in Peshawar and Quetta where participants strongly protested the U.S. military presence near holy Mecca and Medina. Obviously, Washington very well remembers the past regrettable events, particularly the incident of setting on fire the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad on 22 November 1979 [following a terrorist attack in Mecca] and the attack on the USIS office two years later.

Does this advice to Americans to leave mean that the United States is going to launch a war in the Persian Gulf? My acquaintances repeatedly ask me this question, but I myself ask them as to why they do not pose this question to U.S. or Iraqi journalists. Their reply is that the United States and Iraq are, in fact, in a state of war, and when the two countries are at war, there is no hope of getting a reasonable answer from them.

Meanwhile, it appears that Pakistan's stand vis-a-vis Iraq has toughened more than before. Addressing a news conference in the Pakistani capital, Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif said that his government favors the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of the legitimate government of Kuwait. To give more weight to his statement, he instructed sending additional military contingents to the Persian Gulf. The prime minister also said that if necessary Pakistan will send further reinforcements.

East Europe

Romanian Groups Criticize Policy on Moldova

LD1501012491 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Article by MOLDOVA-PRESS correspondent Anatoliy Golya]

[Text] Kishinev January 14 TASS—"The Soviet state's authority over occupied territories is illegal, as it is based on the criminal Ribbentrop-Molotov pact," reads a statement distributed in Moldova today.

The statement was signed in Baia Mare by representatives of influential parties and public and political movements of Romania, including the Association of Political Prisoners, the National Christian Party and the Vatra Romanasca Union.

Addressing the presidents of Romanian, the Soviet Union and Union republics and the U.N. Human Rights Commission, they criticise Moscow's policy in Union republics, denounce Soviet Army actions in the Baltics and demand that "rights proclaimed by the general declaration of human rights be strictly observed, ultimatums, the use of force and economic blackmail be rejected and the rights of refugees, deported and exiled citizens be restored".

The memorandum carries no assessment of the situation in Moldova and proposes no solutions for existing problems.

The Moldovan people should determine its own future, the memorandum reads.

Supreme Soviet

Gorbachev Discusses Formation of New Cabinet

LD1401232391 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1945 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Speech by President Mikhail Gorbachev at the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow on 14 January—recorded]

[Text] Anatoliy Ivanovich has used my introduction on the examination of this question, but I would still like to say a few words.

The fact that this issue would be considered by the USSR Supreme Soviet today was decided, was decided [repeats himself] by the previous sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet as well as later by decisions adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies, by the Fourth Congress of USSR Peoples Deputies, in connection with additions and amendments to the constitution on the basis of proposals by the USSR Supreme Soviet and in connection with the transition and the expansion and improvement of the system of presidential government.

In the context of forming the system of presidential government, proposals are being put forward today for ratification by the Supreme Soviet just on the leadership of the Cabinet of Ministers. We are taking the first step, as it were, in this regard. On the prime minister and his deputies: First, a few words to explain this approach. I have made up my mind to start the formation of the leadership of the Cabinet of Ministers according to the following consideration—although I must say that at the beginning I thought of putting proposals on the structure of the cabinet forward for your consideration. On this account I organized three commissions that have worked on an alternative basis on the proposal, and submitted their considerations as to how these commissions see the future Cabinet of Ministers.

Further work showed that evidently this would not be correct, both on my part and on yours, if we approached this immediately. Obviously, the matter of the basic leadership of the Cabinet of Ministers must be resolved, so that they get involved in this work and so that it doesn't happen that we decide everything to the surprise of these people and then they are put into some kind of strange position.

Thinking in this way, I have postponed these plans for the time being. I am keeping these outlines. There is even a draft law on this account, on the system. Anyway, this is not a simple matter—on the future cabinet's structure.

I have been occupied with an analysis and a proposal in order to examine the proposal at the Supreme Soviet, primarily on the basic leadership of the cabinet.

With regard to how many deputies there should be: At present there are 12 people. At first there was a desire for there to be maybe three, four, well, five people at most. It does not work. Anway, we managed to stop at seven. There will be proposals on five of these. So this is the first part.

The second part is how to aproach the proposals on leadership, both on the prime minister of the cabinet and his deputies. First of all, one has, of course, to understand the purpose of this cabinet. First, it is a part of the structure of presidential rule, a very important part on which the way matters will be solved here and the way the system of presidential rule will be functioning will depend a great deal, and to a crucial degree. This is in the first turn. Second, one cannot disregard the situation in which we are forming the cabinet and the system of presidential rule as a whole.

Questions of the following nature cropped up. First, one must keep in mind that these are, as it were, points of departure for considering the cabinet. The points of departure are such that at present the tasks of 1991 confront us, of decisive importance with regard to how the whole of our perestroyka will proceed and how effectively we will act within the framework of, er, on the course of the transformations which we have set out on, including the sphere of economics, politics and interethnic relations, and other spheres.

We cannot get away from this and especially if we do not stabilize the situation of the economy, if we do not stabilize our finances and the situation on the consumer market, this will slow down the whole of our transformations. For this reason the cabinet is indeed faced with unprecedented responsibility and the burden of responsibility lying on this cabinet may be unique.

Second, this is naturally a cabinet that will have to do a lot in order to get moving the solution to questions...[change thought] to advance a long way the solution to questions connected with the transition to the market, and the formation of a market infrastructure.

Finally, it is a cabinet that must already work in a new situation, and later when we come to conclude a Union treaty—I mean first and foremost the new thing here will be with the new role of the republics.

Therefore, this is everything that was borne in mind when the choice of a personal nature came. I have to say that I had quite a number of consultations on this matter, but at the final stage the considerations on this were reported to the Council of the Federation and on Saturday a meeting took place with members of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet—and, naturally, this means with the leadership of the Supreme Soviet—and with the heads of commissions and committees. There we spent several hours discussing these proposals.

I am now presenting you with a proposal that has been agreed upon, albeit after this, for it was only after agreeing that I had a talk with the comrades—that was yesterday and today—and several alterations were made in connection with the fact that one had to take the position of individual comrades into consideration

And so, about the chairman of the cabinet. The Council of Ministers [corrects himself] the Supreme Soviet, as Anatoliy Ivanovich has reminded us, endorses the candidacy of the prime minister of the cabinet.

After lengthy reflection and consultations the choice fell... [changes thought] my choice fell and the comrades in the Council of the Federation supported it—although I must say that the discussions were quite extensive; there were critical evaluations as well contained in these debates and speeches—nevertheless, on the basis of a large degree of accord, the candidature of Comrade Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov the current USSR minister of finance, was supported.

This whole sum of questions and all those aspects which needed to be considered in this approach were considered. I shall remind you of certain biographical details, but first perhaps I should like to say a couple more things. All the time the question was put, and the problem was discussed as to whom to give preference today—a man possessing profound knowledge in the sphere of finances and the economy or an organizer, an expert in production with great experience? Indeed, both the one and the other are of, so to speak ... [changes thought] perhaps, a combination of one and the other. The two variants were considered. Perhaps one should have at the helm a man with knowledge and more experience in the sphere of production, and, together with him peoples versed in the economic sphere, but, still, in connection with the fact this cabinet faces the task of adopting major decisions in literally a few months in the sphere of finance and the economy, and that he should show a high degree of competence here, it is probably also important that the premier should possess such knowledge and such experience.

And so, at the end of the day, I settled on—this was discussed for a long time in the Council of the Federation and in the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet—and we came to the conclusion that the candidacy of Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov should be presented to the Supreme Soviet.

What noticeably distinguishes Comrade Pavlov at present among leaders on a statewide scale is his deeper, broader, and more fundamental knowledge of the economy and finance. He has gone through a good school of work. He worked for several years in finance in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and was engaged in the financing capital construction. Then he was engaged in questions of financing heavy industry in a USSR ministry. He studied the questions of budget. He worked with these problems in the Gosplan. In the last few years he has worked as chairman of the Committee for Price and Finance.

Well, the question arises—it stands before me, and I should have asked it of myself and answered it, and you, too, can put it to me and to him. Well, Comrade Pavlov, working all the time in the sphere of finances—and we can see today that (?he is interested) most of all in this very sphere of finance...[changes thought] what sort of contradiction is this—are we making the correct choice? This is not an idle question and we must give an answer to it here in our circle when we are taking such a crucial decision.

I do not think anyone of us who has to face the Supreme Soviet and the country today can evade his responsibility for the state of affairs that exists today. This, undoubtedly applies to Comrade Pavlov, too.

Nonetheless, I must say, for the sake of objectivity, that although it was not given resounding press coverage and although comrade Pavlov did not, as it were, submit it to the judgement of the public, as they say, and if things did not reach a situation of confrontation, I must, for the sake of objectivity, say that Comrade Pavlov was among those who, since the spring and for several months have been raising the issue of us moving slowly, losing time and that negative processes were intensifying and that it is necessary, as it were, to tackle them.

He raised these issues within government circles. He also raised—and I too was aware of it—at one time he even raised the question of what use is there from his continued work in this situation in which he was unable to implement his ideas and views, that is how he put the question. These, as they say, were conversations of a personal nature. We supported...taking these views into consideration, we nevertheless voiced the desire, demand, and judgment alike. I would not have been serious, at this crucial stage, to introduce these, as it were, [word indistinct]. This must be stated outright, so that everything is clear here and that all i's are dotted.

Nonetheless, I say that just like all of us, so Comrade Pavlov too—those who at present are members of the current government, the country's leadership, bear the full responsibility for all this. Considering all this, I think that perhaps this moment should even be regarded to some extent a lesson for comrade Pavlov himself and us alike. He is capable of drawing lessons from this and I think that he can now place his potential—which all in all he has not yet opened up fully—to tackle things and get on top of them. I am confident that at present we need, as head of the cabinet, a major financial specialist, an economist of great experience and, it has to be said, one who has his principles, a man ready to take on this whole burden of responsibility. Well, all of this was put to comrade Pavlov during a conversation, as a result of which we have his consent. This is the first and main proposal concerning the prime minister.

Furthermore, a proposal that is being submitted for your consideration recommends that you give your consent—as president I will subsequently have to and will approve them—in the capacity of first deputy chairmen. I have in mind that there should be two of them. We had two, and three and four, it seems there were no more, there were four first deputy chairmen. Were there five? Even five at some point in time, yes, two first deputy chairmen. The candidacy of Comrade Vitaliy Khusseynovich

Doguzhiyev is being submitted for your consideration as the first deputy chairman in charge of general and a range of urgent questions—that is to say someone who will constantly support the premier, be by his side and I recommend this to you and ask for your consent.

At present he is working. He is the minister of general machine building, [as heard] a prominent specialist of ours, an organizer of production. Over the past few years he has been working as minister of general machine building. He is linked with a very high level of technology, he has extensive knowledge. Recently he has been working as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Emergency Situations. In this sphere, too, working here and interacting with the republics and regions, he acquitted himself well.

In any case I have to say that this idea emerged in the Council of the Federation and was supported practically unanimously by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium too. It is precisely as the first deputy chairman—he was mentioned as deputy chairman in my proposals—the Council of the Federation, subsequently to be supported by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, recommended Comrade Doguzhiyev to be the first deputy chairman. I must bear in mind that to some extent, well, to the extent that it is possible, since he broke away a long time ago... [changes thought] Nonetheless, Comrade Doguzhiyev represents among us the autonomous formations, as it were, his nationality is Adygey, although he was born in the town Yenakiyevo, Donetsk Oblast, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. So here, well, our country is such, as it were, [words indistinct] but I had to say this, so that we could take this aspect into consideration too. So much for comrade Doguzhiyev.

As for the second deputy chairman, the second candidacy for the first deputy chairman, we are talking of Vladimar Makarovich Velichko, USSR minister of heavy machine building. He hails from Voronezh Oblast. He graduated from the Leningrad Ministry and Mechanical Institute, he worked in production a lot, as a foreman, too, and he went through all the stages, as it were. He then worked as minister of power engineering machine building, minister of heavy power engineering and transport machine building. He is now minister of heavy machine building which comprises several major industries.

On the whole it must be said that he has shown himself to good advantage, both while being a enterprise manager in various posts and being a deputy minister. Then, if one speaks of him as a minister, he has been working as a minister since 1983. During all of these seven years he has shown himself to be a fairly, a very erudite, major economic planner and statesman. He has a great and strong intellect and has the ability to unite people. He is a man inclined to seek advice from people and he takes on responsible loads, so to speak, big ones, even though I have to say outright that in the new cabinet he too will have to both change his style and increase his speed and move even faster, step up speed. But this is the fate of all members of this committee, just as all members of the presidential government. He is an outstanding engineer.

All the time two men were Comrade Pavlov's competitors: Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov and Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov. I have to tell you this and you probably already know this inasmuch as I personally have not made a secret of my consultations and have conducted faily wide consultations. Evidently all these conversations and discussions on this score are known to you. I see that you are listening to me competently, you most likely are already in the know so to speak aware of what and whom we are talking about.

I have to say that I have also been having talks with Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov. I personally hold a high opinion of him, despite the fact that I have critical remarks to make with respect to him. I not only have them, but I also did not hide them. I did voice them whenever it was necessary and required and I put matters to him fairly sharply in line with that. I am speaking like this in his presence and in the presence of other comrades who can confirm this. Nevertheless, I assess him very highly as an outstanding engineer. He is perhaps one of the major connoisseurs of our equipment today, a man with certain qualities of will power. He has been through the school of life and I think especially at the latest stage when he headed our State Planning Committee.

Comrade Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov expressed the following view in a self-critical way that if it is a matter of him being prime minister then he himself personally could not give his consent because he believes that a regrouping of forces should take place in the cabinet, in the leadership.

He put the question before me as follows: If there is an intention to use him he is ready to return to the sphere, the military industry sector, the defense industry, where there are very great and difficult problems. He knows this business and could do useful work there. By the way, I asked him who in that event, he imagines as chairman in our cabinet. Comrade Maslyukov also named Pavlov. That is why I am proposing as deputy chairman for your examination—I ask your agreement—Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov and I intend to use him in the defense industry sphere, in management so that there... [changes thought] There we also have conversion. We need to develop this entire complex toward the entire economy, toward civilian interests. This is a difficult matter and perhaps the most acute processes are in progress there now related to this. The very strongest of our cadres are concentrated there. There is a great potential, the youngest (?and new) assets and technologies. We need this sector, after getting through its difficult phase, to resolve all tasks as soon as possible, including defense capability, everything that is necessary for the level of this defense capability and for reliability not to decline. The more so as we have taken the road of reforming the Army. I have in mind tackling things in such a way that our Army should tackle tasks on the basis of its qualitative improvement. This is including also of course matters of equipment. This was that proposal.

Academician Nikolay Pavlovich Laverov has been put forward for the post of deputy prime minister to run the issues of science and education and to supervise these spheres in the new cabinet. I would not like either to elaborate on this in detail because you have had an opportunity first to make his acquaintance. You know him as a person who has already received the title of academician at his work, and after joining the government he has shown himself as a person very capable of taking in new functions and mastering them, a person with whom one can cooperate and who is open for cooperation. This is a major contemporary representative of our scientific intelligentsia.

I have spoken with all these comrades and they have given their consent. We have had, of course, expanded and serious conversations in order for all of us to comprehend what was being discussed. I proposed Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin for the post of deputy, I proposed him for first deputy. The Council of the Federation reviewed these proposals and gave preference to Comrade Doguzhiyev after agreeing that Comrade Bakatin should join the committee as deputy. After all, he... [changes thought] We had a conversation yesterday. He had asked for a meeting and today we met and had another conversation with him.

I thought, and think now too that his joining would be useful and expedient. I think that this person's potential... [changes thought] I have substantiated this point to you sometimes. As a matter of fact, we have not used it [potential] properly. Nevertheless, Comrade Bakatin asked to be employed within the framework of presidential rule but not within the cabinet structures but within the structure of the Security Council to carry out more political functions. So I listened to this and today I am briefing you since it was known and people may say: Where is Bakatin?

It seemed an accord had been reached at the Council of the Federation and at the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Where is the proposal? Therefore in this connection I am revoking this proposal in your presence but I am simply giving information on the subject. So comrades, these are my proposals.

Yes, I must mention the following regarding what was voiced at the Council of the Federation and what was supported by the Supreme Soviet Presidium in general, that is, everybody favors having a deputy chairman on agrarian issues.

This was voiced decisively at the stage of consultations and everything was supported within the framework of the Council of the Federation and the Supreme Soviet Presidium. While holding discussions at the Council of the Federation the following request was voiced: to give an instruction to the effect that proposals on this account... [changes thought] for the Federation Council to submit a proposal proceeding from its function and understanding. I personally supported this because after all I have to submit it later—to instruct representatives of the Ukraine and Belorussia to draw up an agreed proposal on a candidature for the post of deputy chairman of the cabinet for agrarian issues.

I think this is correct and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also agreed with this approach. But the comrades asked to be given time to think it over, to hold talks between republics and... [changes thought] Well, there are proposals there. I can name them myself but since we have agreed, they will examine and submit them.

An opinion was voiced also that one candidacy for the post of deputy chairman of the cabinet, the cabinet's prime minister, be nominated from the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. I agreed with this too. Therefore, these two vacancies are reserved and today the proposals on the prime minister, on Doguzhiyev, on Velichko, on Maslyukov and Laverov are being submitted for your examination.

Gorbachev Addresses Supreme Soviet on Lithuania

LD1401180291 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Speech by President Mikhail Gorbachev at the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] First and foremost, I want to support those principled opinions expressed at the Supreme Soviet's morning sitting that events in Lithuania are of immense, principled, and vitally important significance for all of us, and not only for Lithuania.

I would say that we have found ourselves again in a very complex situation in connection with the events which took place on the night of 12-13 January. It ended up not only with a severe worsening of the whole situation in the republic, but also with people being killed. We feel everything that has happened very sorely, because most of all, none of us—I am convinced of this, whatever views we might hold, whatever political tendencies we might belong to, whatever posts we might occupy—most of all none of us want this, did not, and do not want it.

Nevertheless, we do not manage to avoid just such events which literally shake us up every time. Events in Lithuania in recent days changed rapidly, acquiring the nature of confrontation, of sharp confrontation. Now we are faced with that confrontation, in effect a split in society in the republic. Then, speaking at 0100 this morning with Comrade Dementey [leader of the Council of the Federation delegation], I heard from him, following the numerous meetings and conversations held at the Supreme Soviet and meetings with public organizations, with servicemen's families, with women and workers, and with representatives of the National Salvation Committee, what they brought out was that we are faced with a very bitter confrontation.

This in itself is very dangerous and cannot be ignored. This is probably the most serious thing, after the fact that people have been killed. This we must bear in mind, for this could once again cause the republic, and indeed all of us, to face tough tests. In this situation we must act in a very balanced and responsible manner.

It began with a protest about prices which had been introduced in the republic. At that time, Comrade Prunskiene, Kazimiera Pranovna, while she was here in Moscow, asked me very persistently to receive her without delay, urgently, so that she could go back—and I paid attention to her phrase to the effect that while she was here she might be removed from office. I received here, with Comrade Bickauskas, the government's permanent representative here, and we had a conversation.

Two questions were asked, although I think that there were more, but I found her in an agitated mood; and two questions were put to me. The first question was about the draftees and the situation which developed over the fulfillment of the presidential decree in connection with the fact that the law on call-up for military service was not being fulfilled. I advised them persistently—and by then such activities had already become apparent in other republics. Comrade Gorbunov was in the Ministry of Defense, and he met with Comrade Yazov and Moiseyev. They agreed on things and the process was moving more or less on to normal channels.

Comrade Savisaar, Estonia's prime minister, was there, and they, too, seemed to have found mutual understanding and the process started acquiring certain forms of cooperation between the republic and the Ministry of Defense, too. I gave Prunskiene advice to the effect that, you know this is an issue in which everybody should cooperate and find a practical solution to the issue, so to speak.

The second issue concerns resuming talks between the Union's center and the republic. I reminded her that now that the republic had removed its demands on signing a preliminary protocol in which the sides would have been defined as foreign states and the nature of talks should have been precisely that, between two foreign states—and one could hardly count on this. Any delegation could on behalf of the Union center enter into such talks since we had the third congress' decision which abolished and deemed illegal all decisions, including the act of 11 March 1990. We can only conduct talks in their entirety and discuss any issues with representatives of a Union republic which is part of the Soviet Union.

Now they cancelled that protocol and an opportunity opened to resume those talks. But at that point a misfortune befell Nikolay Ivanovich who headed the center's delegation. Nevertheless I told her that on Saturday, the 12th, we would convene the Council of the Federation, which had on its agenda discussing and approving a plan for work on the draft Union treaty, among other issues. The republics had already appointed their authorized representatives for this stage of work.

After confirmation of the proposal on this in the Council of the Federation, work will proceed and talks will be resumed in one form or another in parallel and we will decide who will participate on behalf of the Union center. The discussion was not particularly lengthy and at that point we departed.

It has become known to me that when she returned she learned that they were intending to dismiss her and she resigned. Essentially all of this took place. It seems as though it was in the nature of a reaction to unfounded decisions concerning prices and impinging upon the living standards of the people.

Subsequent days saw mass protests, and by this time they were of a different character, they were esentially political. Prices as such moved away. They returned to the subject of prices in passing, and frequently they did not return to them, and these political pronouncements and demands, the sharp criticism at mass meetings, at enterprises, at meetings and conversations, and so on. These were accompanied by a great flood of messages—they came in here to the Supreme Soviet—but they were addressed to the president demanding that presidential rule be introduced, for the regime there is anticonstitutional, it is leading the republic to collapse and into a blind alley, and so on.

These telegrams continue to flow in. In recent days they have acquired the nature of beginning to complain about the president not instituting presidential rule. Telegrams reached the Supreme Soviet, too. I do not know whether you are all familiar with....

[Lukyanov, interrupting] We can make them generally available, Mikhail Sergeyevich. There are thousands of telegrams.

[Gorbachev] Well, I think that maybe even that should be done, because a situation can arise in which matters look somehow as though.... [pauses] You know, they want to create the impression that there is some kind of interference from outside going on here. Yet the process itself is alright; all events in the republic are developing normally, but somebody is prompting things according to some plan worked out somewhere so as to.... [pauses] (?who knows what)?

The situation is so acute that we somehow did not have time to realize the nature of it. In two days it reached a literally critical phase. On the 12th, at the Federation Council we set aside the main points on the agenda and got down right away to discussing the situation in Lithuania. We exchanged views. Already by then the first, so to speak, contacts arose and—between various forces opposing one another in the republic. There was a need.... [pauses] Moreover all of us were receiving the most varied reports, and quite contradictory.

Then we agreed that the Council of the Federation, on behalf of the Soviet of Nationalities, should... [pauses] Whatever the case, the Council of the Federation turned to the Soviet of Nationalities, requesting that they jointly designate representatives and send them to make contact on the spot and study the situation in order to report back to us with their picture and with information and suggestions, but first and foremost to help, so to speak, in halting a growth in that confrontation, that confrontation.

So that is how we acted. We sent Comrade Dementey, Comrade Ter-Petrosyan, Comrade Oleynik, and Comrade Foteyev. They left by air that same night.

I have to say, however, that it was given an equivocal reception in the republic and at the Council of the Federation. Certain remarks were voiced on this score, primarily by Comrade Yeltsin, in connection with my address, as president, to the Supreme Soviet. But I have to say and explain to the Supreme Soviet—even now I think that this had to be done—it was simply dictated by the situation as it was developing at that time, because I was not thinking at that time of embarking on introducing presidential rule or of asking the Supreme Soviet to support this action. I still thought it was possible to draw the Supreme Soviet's attention, in spite of the acuteness of the situation, so that it could think everything over, reflect on the roots of these... on the root causes of this entire situation; because you will not get anywhere here by superficial arguments and assessments, and you will not find any answers.

So it was in such quite an open, direct formulation that I asked all the questions and voiced my judgement that what was primarily at issue was the need to restore constitutional order. Otherwise this is fraught... [changes thought] and to look the truth in the eyes, this will result in serious consequences. I have to say that this was rejected out of hand by the Supreme Soviet. It was presented as an address by the president of a foreign country who was trying to have the requirements of his country's constitution applied in another state.

All this was being broadcast around-the-clock on radio and television, accompanied by comments. Moreover those comments were so trenchant, instigatory. Let us say outright that this has incensed society and only added even more to the inflamed atmosphere. Instead of occupying oneself with thinking things over there was this reaction and it has evoked even more exacerbation and an even greater frenzy of passions.

There was no attempt at all to think things over for a while, to pluck up the courage to look at everything from positions of principle, to reflect whether everything is as it should be and why all this is then taking place. No, there they insisted on one thing: foreign interference, armed force, pressure by the army. That is it, nothing else.

By the way, by the way, at about 1200 [0900 GMT] today I had a conversation with Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, approximately the same conversation, very unproductive. Frankly speaking, from this conversation, on the whole I am getting... [changes thought] I got the impression that it will be very difficult to search for ways for a dialogue in conditions where at the head are such people, who... [changes thought] But, this is, after all, the republic's Supreme Soviet. Nevertheless, I am getting this impression, and I am frankly sharing it with you.

Representatives of the Council of the Federation and the Soviet of Nationalities are now working, yes, are now working there. But on the eve, when we in the Supreme Soviet—we were doing this on Saturday—we discussed this whole situation and adopted this decision and sent our comrades there in order to take a look at everything there on the spot, and to have a discussion and listen and to think about what in fact to do, that is, relying on a political solution so to speak (?of these issues).

In the early hours of the 13th this situation occurred. According to information at our disposal—it is contradictory—but nevertheless the events, roughly as they appear according to this information, on the basis of this information, they demand, it all demands very careful study still and people are currently engaged in this, now not only under the auspices of our comrades whom we have sent there, but representatives of the Union procuracy have travelled there. Is the USSR procurator here or not? Comrade Trubin?

[Lukyanov] He has spoken.

[Gorbachev] Ah, yes. Well, have they sent... [changes thought] they have sent people under their own auspices to ensure their participation. Comrade Yazov, I believe, has sent Comrade Varennikov, his first deputy, commander in chief of Ground Forces, to travel there, too, and get involved. There are representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Well, already a certain circle of individuals, so to speak.

But the events, according to what we can judge today on the basis of the information at our disposal developed in such a way that there was... [changes thought] in connection with the fact that this campaign, this kind of unruliness simply was continued through television and radio and that it provoked an ever greater reaction, all these aggravations of the situation spread throughout the republic. I sense this from the telegrams that are coming. They are lying in front of me here and they are coming not only from the cities, they are coming from rural regions, a great many signatures both of Russians, Ukrainians, and Poles, and no fewer Lithuanians.

In short the situation is such, it is very serious, you know. I do not think that it is a question of some kind of advantage or anything. It is simply that there is a very acute situation and confrontation there. One simply has to seek a way out that is based on dialogue. One has to stop all of this in some way and not lose one's head.

But the events developed in that way and led to a situation in which a deputation from this committee—which, incidentally, was formed, as it has been explained to me, following the rejection of the president's proposal and furthermore this was accompanied by a sharp campaign of that kind. They saw then that there were few hopes and they formed this Committee of National Salvation. On that very day—in fact it was already nighttime—we were in session at the Council of the Federation until the evening and generally speaking the day went normally, until 10 o'clock it seemd even that everything had calmed down. They sent a delegation to put an end to this whipping up of passions, a deputation of workers and intelligentsia from this committee, some of them went to the Supreme Soviet, some to the government. They did not get any results. They not only refused to let them in, but they gave them a sound thrashing and some of them ended up in the hospital as reported.

Then they moved in the direction of... [pauses] they adopted a decision that the radio has to stop these inflammatory broadcasts, so to speak, and they appealed to the commandant to go there. As a measure of protection they asked for representatives of the garrison to be alongside them. The garrison commander, reacting to this, turned to the deputy commander of the military district and implemented this protective action. Incidentally, everyone knew about it and there is a statement directly, it has all been written down, that as one... [changes thought] What is his surname? (Buchkavicius) or Butkevicius? Do not be frightened, give them a rebuff, they are coming unarmed, they have blanks, you act and so on. Generally speaking all of this continued. Instead of them getting into contact, it all continued there.

Well, this was expressed in the way we are all aware of and in the way things turned out.

That is the story of this tragic development of events. Right; what next, what thoughts do I have in connection with this? I think all the reasons are rooted in what I tried to say concisely in my appeal. All this began some time in March when the Supreme Soviet convened hastily, contrary to the previously planned date for staging the Supreme Soviet session and in order to forestall the Congress of People's Deputies' work—the elections had not even finished, then someone was elected—and adopted an act, an anticonstitutional act, which you and I examined at the time, on independence which countermanded the application of the USSR Constitution on the territory of Lithuania.

That, strictly speaking, is how this real constitutional nighttime coup, so to speak, was carried out. I spoke about this at the time. In one night, for half the night they gathered, raised their hands, and everything was decided. [murmurs in the hall]

Yes, Comrade (?Kutsenko), I suspect that our appraisals do not coincide; but I think that does not deprive me of the opportunity of preserving my own position—and I will tell you what mine is. Nevertheless, the decisions of the third congress, which are familiar, took place; and all the subsequent acts of the president, the government, and all the state bodies, as well as institutions, including those of the Army, could not be anything other than those envisaged by the decisions of this congress.

There could not be other actions; no one had the right to bet on that. What is more, we did not simply... [changes thought] In the wake of this they came... [changes thought] Here I can list which acts were adopted, what ensued from that, and how many decisions we had to adopt. We did not fail to pay attention to a single anticonstitutional document, and they have all been repealed. Well, and as for the USSR Constitution ceasing to be in force, it was repealed by the congress and others.

On the introduction of amendments and additions to the criminal code of the Lithuanian Republic, there were, moreover, such consequences there, with allusions that citizens belonging to an alien state—since the USSR Constitution was not in force—then all those who acted according to, upholding the positions of the constitution, declare themselves foreign citizens, were liable to be called extremely severely to account, even to have property confiscated and be sentenced to death. Only a citizen of the Lithuanian Republic possessing active electoral rights can be a member of political parties. That also had to be repealed. It was a flouting of constitutional rights.

On service in the Armed Forces: The housing and employment benefits and guarantees established by a decision are not applicable to those who voluntarily go to serve in the Armed Forces, that is, a purposeful, anticonstitutional action of the Supreme Soviet. They were also repealed. They were. I can continue to give lists like that since this is all within my command. Nevertheless, once one has set foot on the path of violation, of flagrant violations of the constitution and the basic laws, the situation is obvious. This is what it has led to, I think.

Such a critical mass of dissatisfaction has accumulated there that it has erupted. Whereas previously it embraced some of the people—primarily Russian-speaking people, the Polish population—lately it has embraced... [changes thought]

This does not mean that everyone there is against the current Supreme Soviet, against Landsbergis. No; he has a large following, and he retains his support and the Supreme Soviet supports him personally. This is merely evidence that we are dealing with a very sharp political confrontation. Things have been particularly aggravated here when owners have begun to appear who have started looking for their homes, their plots of land, and so forth.

The peasants have begun to stir, and what I found particularly unexpected to some extent was that very many demands and telegrams have come from peasant regions, from rural regions, with demands to introduce presidential rule.

So, I think the answer is rooted in this. Now, too, I have what has been reported to me by the comrades who are there, from conversations, from information. So far there is a conviction that we have come to a situation in which it is understood that you cannot in this state of affairs continue to maintain these processes which have developed in the republic and that it is necessary to seek and to conduct a dialogue. I do not yet feel that it is recognized there by all the forces which are confronting each other.

I see our duty—that of the president and the Supreme Soviet, all those who are indeed adherents of the view that we should stand firm and take the road of renewal of the Union state, implementing the concept of the Union as a federation of sovereign states—as helping to find a political solution and somehow pacifying the situation and channeling everything onto some kind of track to a political solution.

Concerning what you have debated here, I for my part have made some remarks. I would prefer that our comrades would do a bit more work, that we should thoroughly weigh the information and then hear them out and exchange views and think everything out together. Now I see the task as being to rule out everything that would destabilize and aggravate the situation. This will not be so easy to do, but it has to be done.

That is what I wanted to say. I have a whole list here. I could add here, comrades, that things are very... [changes thought] You remind me here, perhaps, to speak of certain specific things. We have adopted a decree on the confiscation of weapons in the possession of the population and on the dissolution of illegal military formations throughout the country. This process is proceeding with difficulty, both the confiscation of weapons and the dissolution of military formations. Both have generally spread across the country and potentially pose a great threat. At the slightest aggravation of a situation, all of this comes into operation.

Look, they have set up a department—this is in spite of the constitution—a defense department for the country, and moreover, there turned out to be in this department many has-beens—those who think they have to settle scores, take revenge for everything. When they started on DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] premises, at the demand of the population, that weapons be stored there, actions are being prepared there which might precipitate bloodshed—all this really did occur. Lists were found in several safes. I even have one of them here [shuffles paper], lists of active participants in the restoration of Soviet power in Lithuania. The documents are being used by the defense department of the country to expose all these people today. It was planning, at H-hour, to declare them enemies of the Lithuanian people. This is what was seized from the safes in these premises of the department, former premises of the DOSAAF.

Things have gone a long way, a very long way, and it is not so simple to explain. It will not prove possible to resolve things so simply, because today this leadership of the republic has embarked on a path of confrontation. It is not taking part in anything, neither sessions, nor meetings, nor conversations. Sometimes, just at the government level and in connection with economic issues, Prunskiene did maintain links here; and it has to be said that she did conduct some constructive work. But today even she has gone and that government has gone. By the way, the next government has also gone. Now there is another one, a third government. So, that is how things are.

Gorbachev Explains Recent Policy Toward Lithuania

LD1401173391 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today urged dialogue as the only way to resolve the conflict in Lithuania. He made the remarks when talking to reporters during a break in the legislative session.

Explaining recent policies towards Lithuania, Gorbachev said he has always sought by political means "to bring developments in that republic back into the constitutional fold" in spite of "enormous pressure" brought to bear on him, including in the Supreme Soviet legislature.

He also recalled decisions by the Congress of People's Deputies, the outer legislature, that ruled Lithuania's March 11 acts unconstitutional and illegal. This was the reason why he had declared those acts null and void, Gorbachev said.

He said he "would not like to introduce presidential rule with all its attributes" and had decided to limit himself "to nothing more than a warning to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, even if strongly-worded".

Through that warning he attempted "to give [as received] Lithuania to understand that even if this is hard, you must return to constitutional footing. Eventually, there will be a referendum in Lithuania to decide the issue of self-determination. If the required number of votes is collected, the secession process will start, but this will only be within the framework of the constitution."

Gorbachev denounced laws passed in Lithuania after March 11 as discriminating against people who would like to remain within the USSR, military servicemen and their families, and staffs of government-owned enterprises. He also mentioned laws clearing the way for the return to former owners of property, land and estates.

All this has split Lithuania, Gorbachev said.

"That a protest rally against new prices should turn into acute confrontation was quite unexpected," Gorbachev said. Saying he still did not have exhaustive information, he told the legislature his version of what happened in Vilnius on Sunday.

According to Gorbachev, the National Salvation Committee, formed two or three days ago, sent 70 people to speak to the Lithuanian legislature and 20 or 30 people to the government. "They were barred, then beaten," the president said.

It was then decided to move to the radio-committee building which, they learned, was guarded by armed people.

They then turned to the Vilnius Military Commandant for protection. The commandant provided soldiers to escort them after reporting the situation to the military district deputy commander.

"I learned about what happened on Monday morning," President Gorbachev said. "The report about the tragedy came as a surprise to all. The USSR procurator-general's people are now working in Lithuania. They have instituted criminal proceedings. The first deputy commander of the USSR land troops has been dispatched to the region. Representatives of the USSR Interior Ministry are also there."

Asked what way he sees out of the impasse, President Gorbachev replied that dialogue was needed—no matter how difficult—with work collectives, deputies and public organisations.

"But I felt no desire to conduct such a dialogue during the last telephone conversation with Landsbergis this morning," President Gorbachev noted. "According to Landsbergis, this was all hatched in Moscow".

"You know, I said, confrontation is there for all to see. Let us look for a way out of the blind alley together. Because if forty to sixty thousand people come out on each side, God knows what may happen. Especially with so many weapons in the republic."

The evasion from dialogue was described by the Soviet president as "irresponsible, like lighting a cigarette in a kerosene shop".

Asked if the use of military force in Lithuania will worsen East-West relations, the president said: "We should try and keep our blood cool. We shall look for a solution here, and the West needs to take a constructive stance, because confrontation and a head-on collision (which some may like to see) is not what we need".

Gorbachev Learned of Vilnius Events 13 Jan

LD1401132791 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev learned about the use of military force in Lithuania only on Sunday January 13 after the blood was already shed in Vilnius, he told journalists during a break in parliament today.

Asked by TASS, Gorbachev replied that he "found out about these tragic events only early yesterday morning".

The use of military force and clashes in Vilnius are investigated by the USSR Procurator's Office, he told journalists.

Pavlov Addresses Supreme Soviet 14 Jan

LD1401222691 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 2013 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Speech by USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov at the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow on 14 January—recorded]

[Text] I understand perfectly well the difficult condition of our economy, our resources, and relations between our nationalities. I can say to you with absolute frankness that I am not satisfied with our current situation, nor was I satisfied with it as finance minister.

Mikhail Sergeyeich put it politely and I am able to admit it frankly that we have very often been slow in adopting necessary decisions on the most topical issues and this is often one of the basic causes of our difficulties. But indeed in assessing my own role and place in the situation that has come about I rightly believed that leaving would be regarded as running away at the most difficult hour and in the final analysis one has to fight to the very end, never doubting the enormous possibilities of our country.

I would also like to say a few words frankly about how I see our country in the future; about what methods are going to have to be put into effect, irrespective of who is going to head the new cainet and what every citizen is going to have to do so that once again we can feel ourselves to be people filled with dignity and respect, and first and foremost with self-respect.

I expect that those enormous resources that our country has at its disposal—and this is my first point—will enable it to have everything that a civilized state can have at the turn of the two centuries. This certainly does not mean that we have to disregard the experience of others or ignore the assistance that will enable us to accelerate the solution of many questions. But I will also make so bold as to say that every dollar, mark, or lira, or ruble of our own, must today be used with greater effect and multiply our wealth. For my own part, I can promise that I will make every effort to prevent the squandering of these enormous resources in the future as has happened in the past, unfortunately, in our country. I think it is fair to talk today about these resources, these enormous resources that we have in our country, having to be used much more sensibly.

Second, I supported, and do support, wholly and unconditionally, the course that has been put forward by President Gorbachev and that has been confirmed by the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. I consider that we must transfer consistently to market relations, without losing along that road those riches that were built up by our peoples over decades as a result of difficult struggle and labor. But we must multiply the wealth and the power of the country.

Third, I would like to say to you today that ahead of us there may be difficult processes which will require definite sacrificies on the part of different strata of our society. But I think that this has to be done in such a way that people who are less well off feel least of all the burden of the social changes through which we are going to have to go.

Fourth, it is impossible for market relations of any kind and for the progress we want to secure today through this to take place without global changes in the field of price-setting and also a number of operations linked with strengthening the ruble. I understand perfectly well that I am touching upon a subject which is received in an extremely painful way in society today. But if you give me your trust I cannot conceal from you either the fact that we are going to have to go through these measures.

Fifth, the president and you, as the Supreme Soviet, have repeatedly said that we will always consult on the more fundamental positions taht require collective reasoning. I believe that this should be steadfastly observed in all matters.

Sixth, over the many centuries that have passed since the unification of our power into a united state, interethnic relations have never before presented themselves in such an acute way. And for me as a human being, whose family, friends, and acquaintances, have always been sincere and respectful toward other peoples, it is painful today to see what is happening in Moldavia, in the Baltic region, and in some other regions of the country. I presume that our peoples have always been internationalist peoples and opened their doors to all those who ever wanted to live and work together with them.

No one can reproach our peoples that the riches accumulated by them are obtained by the humiliation and exploitation of other peoples. Today I would like to say before this lofty gathering that I will not spare my efforts to restore the justice and peace that existed in our country for decades, a just and respectful peace, a peace worthy of human beings.

Seventh, from this rostrum I would also like to address the world community, all people who have believed in the profundity of the changes taking place in our society and to say to them that the cause we started, and if we are entrusted with it in the future too, we shall conduct it consistently and steadfastly. With the same pesistence and delicacy we invite all those who want to take part in the development of this unbounded region in order, in united work and in community, to acquire new qualities of human relations, counting on these people coming to us with pure intentions.

Further, I do not conceive of our society, of progress, and of all the changes that lie at the root of our programs, without the development of science. For this reason I considered and consider it necessary to do everything possible to ensure that each scientist should be able to express his potential in those proposals he is capable of applying without delay to the common cause.

I think that it is necessary to support, by all means, both the natural and social sciences and to do everything to ensure that priority developments in progressive areas should receive worthy support, and that the country as a whole should retain the opportunity to be in the vanguard in those spheres of knowledge in which our country's scientists have always been renowned. I presume that only the correct combination of science and production and the skillful utilization of the achievements of science and technology will make it possible for us to accelerate our progress.

Where science is at work various forms of organizing production, various forms of property and economic methods are especially important. I have based myself and base myself on the position that all forms of economic management and all methods of production are fitting if they bring the growth of prosperity to our society. This relates both to industry and agriculture and all other spheres of the economy.

Finally, I would like to speak about culture. At no time can any society be advanced or progressive if culture is kept down and if the works of our artists, artists and writers, are distant from the center of our attention. I understand the whole limited nature of our resources, and if representatives of the arts and culture are offended by me today, then I have to say in all honesty that they are justly offended although, not by ill-will but as a result of the lack of the necessary resources that would make it possible to substantially improve the situation in this area. Recognizing the truth of their words, I want to say that, evidently, the situation here has to be corrected.

Understanding the whole enormity of the tasks, and one's duty before society, I would today like to say here that, all the same, nothing will be done in our country by waving a magic wand. There are difficult days ahead of us, and a time for difficult decisions. But, if I am shown that trust that is under discussion here in this hall today, I will try to do things in such a way to ensure that the sacrifices are felt least of all by those who are already suffering the difficulties of our life and are most in need of assistance and support. Furthermore, I hope in that event to have your cooperation and your assistance, having in mind the fact that we are only going to be able to solve the issues if we do so collectively and for the common good.

Defense Minister Yazov Speaks on Lithuania

LD1401141791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow on 14 January; from a "special news report" on the USSR Supreme Soviet—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: First and foremost I consider it my duty to reject resolutely any attempts to link the crisis situation that has arisen in Lithuania with the actions of the military administration bodies or military subdivisions. This is the version being foisted on the public by a number of political figures and the mass media in the West. It has been pounced on readily and assiduously disseminated by a number of newspapers and radio programs here in our country. Regrettably certain deputies have taken part in this.

The reasons for the crisis are well known. They arose neither today nor yesterday. Chief among them is the policy pursued by the Lithuanian leadership, and the adoption of the whole series of hasty, anticonstitutional legislative acts and measures, which have actually resulted in the mass violation of the political rights and freedoms of citizens. Basically a single-minded and coordinated operation to create a bourgeois-style dictatorship has been conducted under cover of slogans of democracy.

Special attention in this operation, which runs counter to the people's interests, has been devoted to issues concerning the activity of the Armed Forces. The procedures for performing military service have been virtually scrapped, while the supply of material resources for those troops stationed on the territory of the republic has been canceled. Anti-army propaganda has assumed an ugly form and has become widespread. Discrimination against servicemen and their families has been practiced with the blessing of the Supreme Soviet and the active participation of certain organs of power. In Vilnius, for example, there are 24,000 Armed Forces veterans and all these, despite Union-wide legislation, have been stripped of their rights and privileges in obtaining foodstuffs, gaining medical treatment, and traveling on public transportation. Almost 600 women, wives and members of servicemen's families, have been sacked from their jobs in Lithuania on the grounds of not knowing the Lithuanian language. More than 100 children have been refused admission to preschool establishments merely because they are the sons and daughters of officers. More than 300 servicemen's families have been refused residence registration. Threats of reprisals against servicemen and their families are heard ever more frequently. Attacks have been carried out against military installations more than 30 times and 18 times against sentries.

At the same time, the creation of anticonstitutional armed formations in Lithuania was pursued more broadly. This continued even after the issue of the USSR president's decree of 25 July 1990 banning the establishment of armed formations not envisaged by USSR legislation and confiscating weapons in cases of their being illegally held. Here are some examples. As a result of the liberation and taking under protection of buildings belonging to the military department which had been previously taken over by formations from the so-called country's defense department, both weapons and ammunition, bullet-proof vests, uniforms, topographical maps, and other property were discovered. The purpose for all this is borne out by many documents and materials. These include lists of unwelcome communists and other people unwelcome to the present leadership in Lithuania, who were intended at H-hour to be declared enemies of the Lithuanian people for the purposes of moral and physical terror.

When we took additional measures to give assistance to military registration and enlistment offices in Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, the Baltic republics, and some oblasts in Ukraine in implementing the draft and organizing searches for and the return of servicemen who had gone absent without leave from their units, the leadership in Lithuania did everything possible to present these measures as interference in the republic's internal affairs.

The anti-army propaganda, which had already exceeded all bounds, was intensified. This coincided with the decision by the republic's leadership to impose a large increase on the prices of main food items. There followed a sharp outburst of mass discontent among the population. In effect, the authorities had lost control of the situation. I do not believe the military had anything to do with it when the Prunskiene government was removed—all that was done by the Supreme Council itself.

The question arises whether the military command had the right to defend the interests of the citizens. Judging by the questions, there are two categories of citizens: Those who followed Landsbergis and came out of the Supreme Council building with arms in their possession; and those who opposed the government without arms. Those who acted against the government without arms were of course in need of protection. I do not know what the committee of harmony [as heard] is; but that committee appealed directly for protection to the commander of the garrison, who naturally is in that area and has lived and still lives there. He decided, in accordance with Chapter 1, Article 38 of the rules of the garrison and guard service, to take measures to maintain order, to give all possible assistance to maintain order and prevent bloodshed. The tanks which emerged were not firing. As you may have noticed, many of them were in the photographs.

Did the garrison commander have the right? Yes, he did. He had to report to his senior officer. He reported to General Ovcharov, who was there at the time.

Before coming here I spoke to Lithuania, with the comrade in charge of the garrison. I should say that it is still not known exactly how many people were killed. All that is known is that there are 10 corpses in the morgues, and that not 10 but six of them have bullet wounds. The procurator said that the rest could be brought over for forensic tests. It is not yet known—no one knows—how many people have died. I should think we will actually have to await the arrival of the commission sent by the Council of the Federation before getting all the details. Naturally, the commission is totally objective and can report on all that has occurred there.

Interior Minister Pugo Speaks on Lithuania

LD1401164291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Speech by Internal Affairs Minister Boris Pugo at the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow on 14 January; from a "special news report" on the USSR Supreme Soviet—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Supreme Soviet deputies: In the past few days the situation in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has taken a sharp turn for the worst. This high political tension has been generated not just by the socioeconomic problems, but above all by the flagrant violations and deviations from the USSR and Lithuanian SSR Constitutions; and by the adoption of anticonstitutional and antidemocratic acts that infringe the rights of citizens.

I should like to recall briefly the chronology of events. On 11 March 1990, the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania adopted a declaration on the republic's independence and anulled the force of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution on its territory. On 15 March 1990, the Third Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies deemed invalid this decision by the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania. On 20 March, the USSR Government issued a statement on matters to do with the functioning of the economy of the Lithuanian SSR, protection of Union-controlled establishments, law and order, and legality. On 21 March, a decree was issued by the USSR president on additional steps to safeguard the rights of Soviet citizens and to protect the sovereignty of the USSR on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR. On 28 March, a Council of Ministers resolution was issued on steps to protect CPSU property on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR. But all these Union acts have been ignored by the Lithuanian leadership. The separatist forces have continued to whip up tension; the persecution of people who have adopted progressive and humanist stances has intensified, as has discrimination based on one's political views, nationality, and membership of the Soviet Army.

The immediate cause of the upsurge in discontent was the three- or four-fold price increase for foodstuffs and manufactured goods. On 8 January, a well attended protest demonstration was held outside the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet against the imposition of the new prices. Up to 30,000 people attended. Alongside this, there were demands for the government to resign and the republic's Supreme Soviet to give up its powers. There was an attempt to break down the door to the Supreme Soviet building. Windows were broken. Scuffles broke out in some places. In response the guards of the building used water cannon. The situation was defused only after a report that the price rises had been halted. The same day the government resigned.

On 9-10 January, there were rallies and clashes between the Sajudis and Yedinstvo associations at the Supreme Council building in which 60,000-80,000 people took part. From the one side there came criticism of the leadership of the republic and demands for its resignation, and from the other defense of the new authority and accusations against the USSR.

So I repeat again: There was a clear confrontation that threatened to turn into a very serious conflict. The message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian SSR was of great importance. But the statement of the Supreme Council of Lithuania—it was called an ultimatum—said that since the USSR president had addressed a nonexistent Lithuanian SSR, the Lithuanian Republic rejected all his accusations.

On 11 January, some 60,000 representatives of Vilnius work forces again picketed the building of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, demanding the dissolution of parliament and the introduction of presidential rule in the republic. There were also some 10,000 Sajudis supporters present. Strikes started. In the capital of the republic 19 enterprises were completely idle. At the Ignalinka Nuclear Electric Power Station and the civil aviation association there were warning strikes. The same day the Lithuanian National Salvation Committee was formed in the republic.

At the same time an enormous flood of letters, telegrams, and telephone calls to the center began to build up demanding that the functioning of the USSR Constitution, the protection of property, and the security of the population be ensured.

On 11 January, at the request of the leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee and in accordance with the 28 March decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to protect the property of the CPSU on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR, the Press House and other facilities of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee were taken into the protection of the internal troops. Military property and other facilities belonging to subunits of the Soviet Army in the form of the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] building and other facilities, were returned to them.

On 12 January, the situation was relatively calm during the day. At the same time the republican radio and television were striving to whip up the situation. Slanderous anti-Soviet and anti-Russian fabrications were circulated. The national Salvation Committee sent a group of its representatives, some 100 people, to the Supreme Soviet of the republic demanding that an end be put to the anti- Soviet slander, including that on the radio and on television. In reply 76 people were savagely beaten up with metal sticks and rods. Citizens, supporters of the healthy forces and members of the people's druzhina [voluntary militia] gathered in large numbers near the radio and television building and tried to put an end to the campaign of slander. But those guarding it met them with bars and knuckle-dusters. Some citizens were also injured.

The National Salvation Committee appealed to the commandant of the Soviet Army garrison for help. He gave the order to deploy a military contingent with tanks and armored personnel carriers. Firing began on the part of the Sajudis representatives. One serviceman was killed. Another serviceman had his foot blown off by a grenade. Following that, the military formations fired into the air and then fired to hit, given that the intensity of the firing was so extremely great. As a result of the clash 13 people were killed, including one serviceman. Of these, 11 have gunshot wounds. The number of people requiring medical assistance was 163, of whom 42 were hospitalized, including three from the law and order forces. All the casualty figures are preliminary; they are still to be confirmed.

Following these events the internal troops took the Radio and Television Center under their guard. While the operation was being carried out, those taking part in it were subjected to heavy fire, and grenades, gas cannisters, metal and other objects were thrown at them, which again confirmed the presence of a large quantity of weapons and of paramilitary organizations which not countenanced by USSR legislation.

In operations carried out the day before, 70 firearms were removed from premises belonging to the department for the protection of the country. They included four rifles with optical sights, 21 pistols, 37,000 rounds for various weapons, and also more than 1,000 sets of uniform for paramilitary units. Lists of Soviet activists, communists, officers of the Soviet Army and of the republic's KGB and Internal Affairs Ministry with their residential addresses and instructions to capture and eliminate them were also discovered here.

With the object of defusing the situation and in line with the decision by the National Salvation Committee, a state of emergency and a curfew have been imposed in Vilnius and Kaunas.

The events in Lithuania have been received variously in the country. Protest rallies have been held in Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi, Minsk, Kiev, Lvov, Omsk, and Smolensk with around 70,000 people. In Riga several hundred thousand people have taken part in activities to defend the constitution.

Last night was quiet in Lithuania. The situation is being monitored at present. A commission from the USSR Council of the Federation is in Vilnius. Presumably the Supreme Soviet leadership will brief you on what it is doing.

Pavlov Endorsed as New Prime Minister

LD1401142191 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—The Soviet parliament today endorsed former Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov, 53, as the new Soviet prime minister.

A total of 279 deputies voted for him, with 66 abstentions and 75 votes against.

New Deputy Prime Ministers Appointed

LD1401223991 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—The Soviet parliament endorsed the appointment of two first deputy prime ministers—Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, 55, who earlier headed the government Commission for Emergencies as deputy prime minister, and Vladimir Velichko, 53, who headed the Heavy Machine-Building Ministry. The parliament also confirmed State Planning Committee Chairman Yuriy Maslyukov, 53, and Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Laverov, 60, as deputy prime ministers in the new cabinet.

Deputies Interviewed on Lithuanian Situation

LD1401194291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1254 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Interview with Nikolay Nikolayevich Medvedev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations, and Enn-Arno Sillari, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent Andrey Zuyev at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 14 January—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Zuyev] There has been much debate on the latest events in Lithuania. Is this a political question, the question of a party that lost an election trying to hold onto power? Or is it a question of inter-ethnic relations? I will put this question to Nikolay Nikolayevich Medvedev, a member of the Commission on Interethnic Relations.

[Medvedev] I would say that certain people, in particular that self-same party that lost the election, would very much like to steer this question into the area of interethnic conflicts. In fact what is happening here is an attempt to hold onto power by the party which did in fact lose the election. Rather dishonest or, sometimes, very dishonest methods are being used to this end. Would you like me to illustrate my argument?

[Zuyev] Of course.

[Medvedev] Take the following example. It is being said that Lithuanian radio made constant calls for armed resistance. The recordings of broadcasts are obviously available. Lithuanian radio constantly urged the population not to offer armed resistance to the Army, only to display civil disobedience. That was all. In no case were people to use weapons.

[Zuyev] Nikolay Nikolayevich, we have become rather used to regarding the Baltic republics as a single entity. Therefore, I would like to invite Enn-Arno Sillari, the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, to tell us about the reaction to these events in the Republic of Estonia.

[Sillari] Our reaction is, I think, the same as everywhere else, because it really is madness to use force to try to resolve ethnic questions. This has been attempted on several previous occasions and the results have always been the same—in other words, we are left with the corpses and innocent people suffer. The only solution is, of course, a political one, the solution of this question by dialogue, talks, and treaty systems.

[Zuyev] Behind the scenes of the congress—of the session—people are saying that the same thing could also happen in Estonia.

[Sillari] This is indeed the case. We have also reached the critical point. Here, of course, I wish to thank Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the leader of the Russian Federation, who visited our republic yesterday. He made a statement about these events in Lithuania and somewhat reassured the population. I am also referring here to the indigenous population. That is the first thing. Secondly, today one already gets the impression that the peak of the crisis has passed. Tomorrow we will have a meeting in Tallinn, which will be attended, mainly, by Russian-speaking people. All the same, I think that this will occur quietly.

[Zuyev] I thank People's Deputies Valentin Ivanovich Tatarchuk, Nikolay Nikolayevich Medvedev, and Enn-Arno Sillari, the first secretary of the Estonian Communist party Central Committee, for these interviews. This is Andrey Zuyev for Radio Russia.

[Announcer] Andrey, excuse me.

[Zuyev] Yes?

[Announcer] Hello, are you there?

[Zuyev] Yes, I can hear you.

[Announcer] I would like to ask a final question of the people you have been talking to. Are they still there?

[Zuyev] Yes, they are still here.

[announcer] Do they know that the Vilnius radio center has been occupied today and that, because of this, the city has been deprived of the most up-to-date source of news on the development of events? In Vilnius and Kaunas, soldiers have been seen changing into civilian clothes. Columns, which will be used to occupy the building of the Lithuanian legislature, are being formed. Do the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet know about this latest news?

[Medvedev] No, we have not heard anything about this yet. This is Medvedev speaking. We do not know about this.

[Announcer] All right, thank you very much.

[Medvedev] Thank you.

[Announcer] goodbye.

Committees Discuss Draft 1991 State Budget

PM1401115891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by I. Demchenko: "USSR State Budget: Losses Will Mount, but No Compensation in Sight"]

[Text] On 9 January, the draft state budget for 1991 was discussed at an expanded session of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions with active input from the union government.

A discussion about the largest item of expenditure, comprising over a third of the total—military appropriations—took place in a session closed to the press. Nevertheless, some details were published even of this item.

This year it is planned to spend 96.5 billion rubles [R] on defense—this is 2 billion less than the Defense Ministry asked for, and a little over 21 billion more than was actually spent last year. Maintaining the KGB will cost the taxpayer nearly 5 billion (about half of this sum will go on maintaining the border forces). MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] departments are "worth" R5.6 billion.

Maybe only one other question interested the deputies as much as the upkeep of the military budget—the new sales tax that has only just been introduced. Finance Minister V. Pavlov had to return to the subject several times to provide explanations. According to him, the introduction of the sales tax means that the cost of all sales output nationwide will increase, according to USSR Finance Ministry forecasts, by an average of 3.8 percent. The price increases could only leave unaffected socially significant groups of consumer goods, provided agreement is reached on this question. V. Pavlov said that there is evidently no sense in levying this tax on military-technical output—tanks, machine guns, etc. In all remaining cases the consumer will pay the sales tax, which will enable state budget revenue to increase by R69 billion. This year part of the sales tax and the entire turnover tax will remain within the republics' budgets.

Answering a question, V. Pavlov stressed that no provision is made in the state budget for expenditure on index-linking the income of the population and for compensation for losses incurred in connection with the price rises, since no provision was made for the increase in retail prices itself. If, however, at some stage such an increase is put into effect, the revenue that it generates will become the source of compensation. Obviously, this not only differs from the USSR Finance Ministry's own forecast of a single price rise of almost four percent (on average!) which would result from the introduction of the new tax, but also conflicts with the estimates of other departments.

Interestingly, the introduction of the sales tax will increase the average rate of tax on enterprise profits. Following some opposition this figure was named—45.7 percent, which is 0.7 percent above the "ceiling" fixed by law. But government members think there is no great harm in this because too much capital derived from price increases and not through labor will remain at enterprises' disposal anyway.

In the course of discussion about the draft budget, government members alluded on several occasions to the agreement reached during the recent meeting between M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin. According to USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] Chairman Yu. Maslyukov, a temporary economic agreement was signed during the meeting which enabled the solution to the main contentious issues connected with the plan and the state budget to be regularized for 1991. He said that in this document a very carefully considered interrelationship has been found, allowing the rights and interests of the republics and the Union to be safeguarded. Yu. Maslyukov stated that on 12 January this document will be put to the Federation Council and reviewed with the participation of all the republics.

While talking with journalists in the break between sessions, G. Burbulis, plenipotentiary representative of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Chairman, categorically rejected a report published in the press that B. Yeltsin has agreed to a contribution of R79 billion to the state budget. The sum contributed by the republic to the state budget remains the originally declared figure of R23.4 billion. True, there are other extrabudgetary payments in which the republic is involved. Thus, for example, it transfers under these items half the revenue from the oil and gas industry—15 billion, a fixed amount of taxes on foreign trade operations, and so on. G. Burbulis said that the republic has now simply taken the financing of a whole series of items into its own hands. These include the maintenance of the military contingent on its territory and education and science funding.

A paragraph by paragraph discussion and adoption of the draft state budget for 1991 is planned for the 10 January session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

11 Jan Session

LD1101215691

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1852 GMT on 11 January carries the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program which includes recorded excerpts of the 11 January Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1852 GMT, the announcer says debate on the budget continued. Deputies complained about press reports on military spending. A discussion on military funding was debated in a closed session. Other budget items were discussed in open session.

At 1855 GMT, Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo appeals for extra cash for the militia and Ministry of Internal Affairs employees.

Minister of Finance Pavlov says that the budget already envisages more spending on the militia, and it was felt that no more could be done given the financial circumstances.

Deputy Golik then says the Supreme Soviet must decide whether it is prepared to give the militia extra funding.

Deputy Burlatskiy says the extra 1.2 billion rubles must be found.

A deputy supports Golik.

Another deputy says that one should not go beyond the already agreed upon figure of 10.5 billion rubles for the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB.

Deputy Shuvalov says either the militia will beat crime, or crime will overwhelm the state. The extra money should be found from the government's reserve fund.

Roy Medvedev says the Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies and KGB also make a contribution to the budget, so they should not just be regarded as spenders.

A woman deputy says she thinks the money can be found.

Deputy Khusanov backs the minister's request, because the militia cannot do anything empty-handed.

Deputy Britvin says that every self-respecting state must conduct efficient intelligence-gathering operations.

Deputy Orlov then compares the 1991 figure with the figure for 1990.

Deputy Mezentsev says the figures should stay, but the Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB should be allowed to keep a percentage of the proceeds from confiscated goods. Deputy Ignatovich then says we must consider reorganizing the ministry, and savings could be made that way.

At 1925 GMT, votes are taken on the increased figures. It is not passed.

Debate then moves to the request for an extra 400,000 rubles for the Supreme Court of Arbitration.

Nishanov then reads a statement on Lithuania. An avalanche of letters is coming in from Lithuania, he says. He reads out requests for the reimposition of the USSR Constitution in Lithuania. He describes a meeting he had with people from Lithuania decrying their lot.

At 1939 GMT, the announcer says at the end of the day's proceedings, IZVESTIYA editor Yefimov responded to criticisms.

At 1940 GMT, the program ends.

12 Jan Session

LD1201203891

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program in Russian at 1850 GMT on 12 January begins carrying the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program of recorded excerpts of the proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Moscow Kremlin. The session is chaired by Lukyanov.

The announcer begins the report by giving a brief outline of points on the day's agenda.

At 1853 GMT, Lukyanov puts to the session discussion of the draft law on a fund for stabilizing the economy, gives the floor to Saunin, planning and budget commission, who delivers report on the bill, and urges that bill be adopted during current session.

At 1905 GMT, the announcer says deputies went on to question Saunin. Lukyanov then reads the draft resolution on approving the bill on the first reading and on elaboration by committees and commissions, which was subsequently admended that committees and commissions will simply elaborate the bill and present it for examination by the Supreme Soviet. The resolution passes.

At 1910 GMT, the announcer says a decision was approved on wage rates for certain categories of workers. Lukyanov then takes up the draft law on employment, examination of which was interrupted at a previous session. Gritsenko, of social protection, labor, and wages commission, takes the floor and asks that voting on individual articles of the bill be begun. Discussion of individual articles begins. Scherbakov of the same commission replying to questions on articles dealing with such matters as unemployment and its effects.

At 1925 GMT, the announcer says the session deferred further examination of the bill pending elaboration by committees. Saunin again takes the floor to report on amendments to resolution on state plan and government economic forecast for 1991. The resolution passes.

At 1930 GMT, Dzasokhov of the international affairs committee takes the floor to report on resolution to be adopted by the session on the situation in the Gulf, and he reports on efforts to solve the crisis.

At 1938 GMT, the announcer says the resolution on the Gulf was adopted. Lukyanov says Deputy Chernyak had submitted a question on the "Vzglyad" television program. A written reply has been received from Gosteleradio and will be passed on.

At 1939 GMT, Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo takes the floor to report on the situation in South Ossetia, in reply to a request from Deputy Chekhoyev.

At 1942 GMT, Katushev takes the floor to report on the incident concerning the Soviet ship Dmitriy Furmanov in the Gulf.

At 1950 GMT, Nishanov takes the floor to report on the situation in Lithuania.

At 1953 GMT, Lukyanov closes the session and the report ends.

13 Jan Session

LD1401231291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1925 GMT on 14 January carries the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet" program of recorded excerpts of the proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow on 14 January. The session is chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov.

The announcer reports that the morning session begins with a report by Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs, on the situation in Lithuania.

At 1932 GMT, Pugo answers deputies' questions. Deputies then pay tribute to the victims of the troubles in Vilnius.

At 1933 GMT, Defense Minister Yazov takes the floor and discusses the situation in Lithuania.

At 1941 GMT, the announcer says Yazov answers a deputy's question. Everything that was carried out was in accordance with the USSR Constitution and the president's decree. The session decides to continue debating this issue after the commission returns from Lithuania.

At 1942 GMT, deputies discuss the draft law on employment. Gritsenko speaks about the work of the conciliation commission. Shcherbakov speaks on behalf of the commission on labor and wages.

At 1945 GMT, Gorbachev addresses the Supreme Soviet. At 2012 GMT deputies are invited to ask Gorbachev questions on the situation in the country.

At 2013 GMT, Pavlov speaks at the evening session on the economy. After his speech, Pavlov answers deputies questions.

At 2023 GMT, the deputy prime ministers of the cabinet speak briefly. The session then endorses their candidacies. The announcer says that Pavlov has become the country's first prime minister.

At 2024 GMT, the deputies thank Lukyanov for the work he has done during a difficult time. Lukyanov says a number of notes have been received with questions for Gorbachev.

At 2024 GMT, Gorbachev addresses deputies on the situation in Lithuania.

The report concludes at 2053 GMT.

14 Jan Supreme Soviet Session Detailed

LD1401122491

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 14 January broadcasts a seven minute report by correspondent Lyudmila Semina from the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow. She begins her report by noting that there are two points on the agenda: the draft legislation of the USSR and the Union republics on employment of the population, and the composition of the cabinet of ministers and the president's proposals in connection with this.

"There was a talk on the situation in Lithuania for over one and a half hours," Semina says. "Deputies heard the reports by Pugo, minister of internal affairs, and by Yazov, minister of defense. I will briefly report on questions and answers. The first question came from deputy Voskoboynikov: Is it right for the Army from the legal point of view to take part in resolving the conflicts in Lithuania? The answer: The Army acted at the request of the Committee for National Salvation. Why did the Army act against the lawful power—the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet? The answer: The Congress of USSR People's Deputies adopted a decision not to recognize the acts by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. Dangerous, extremely dangerous opposition has emerged.

"Deputy Kutsenko asked: Why is the secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPSU) turning to troops? Answer: We must follow the presidential decree and protect the party's property. Deputy Chekov expressed bewilderment that so much is being said about the events in Lithuania and everybody keeps quiet about events in South Ossetiya. He said that the 'long-range artillery' of democrats had gathered here. Pugo replied: We must ensure that the rights of all citizens are observed. Deputy Chernyak asked: Do you share the thesis that the Army must be above politics? Pugo replied: The Army protected property; the property must not be seized."

"Deputy Kuzmin proposed that the issue of the Lithuanian events be included in the agenda, and that the president deliver a report on this. Lukyanov answered that the Federation Council commission had been sent to Lithuania and that their report must be heard first. In answer to a question from Kuzmin whether there was a presidential instruction to use the Army, Pugo replied: "There have been no commands from the center."

"Deputy Obolenskiy inquired about the compostion of the Committee for National Salvation, and the answer was: comrades have required not to name them because of their fear for the fate of their families.

"Minister of Defense Yazov also said that there had been no instructions from the center to use troops, and that the situation had demanded this action."

Semina concludes her report by saying: "The following question was asked at the end: That the government... [Semina hesitates] RSFSR Supreme Soviet adopted.... [hesitates] even the RSFSR Congress adopted... [hesitates] a decision on RSFSR Army not taking part in resolving internal conflicts. Yazov said that... [hesitates] here, I have found it, excuse me, that there is a ban on using military forces in interethnic conflicts, the ban by the RSFSR People's Deputies Congress, to which the minister of Defense answered that the Armed Forces are not subject to RSFSR laws. The discussion on this is to continue.

1991 Budget Deficit Set at 26 Billion Rubles

PM1101165391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by legislative correspondent A. Stepovoy under the "Events and Comments" rubric: "The Country's Budget Approved"]

[Text] Describing the debate on the country's budget is a somewhat thankless task for a journalist. It is hard to focus on an interesting topic, and the constraint of figures makes it impossible to embellish the narrative with emotions and one's own views. The dry and laconic language of figures determines the journalistic genre, as the saying goes. Nonetheless, this difficulty does have its positive side. It is possible to involve the readers in joint work over the figures: to ponder, to compare, to analyze. And to add up.

The following expression was heard time and again during the 10 January Supreme Soviet plenary sitting: The 1991 budget about to be adopted is an emergency budget. Why? It is a question not only of the delay in discussing and approving it, but also of the fact that it is calculated for just one year and is accompanied by a special economic agreement.

The deputies spent almost the entire day nit-picking the budget's expenditure section, clearly aware of the country's pitiful situation. In this process, deputies unhesitatingly used the toughest, and at times even downright pejorative, words to appraise the state of the so-called national economy which has been inherited from the administrative command system. But at the very end of the evening sitting, when it came to considering the article on appropriations for the Army's maintenance and defense expenditures, the deputies who are most interested in this matter started making demands to have the appropriations for their departments increased by 2 billion rubles [R].

Passions immediately flared in the hall. Chairman A. Lukyanov deemed it better to interrupt the budget debate for the day at Article 15 of the draft law.

But let us now return to the point in the session's work where our previous report ended. And so, the Union parliament approved the budget's revenue section to a total sum of R250,157,450,000. The turn of expenditure came next. Here the deputies endorsed a total of R276,820,599,000. The maximum state budget deficit was set at R26,663,149,000.

Seeing that our state's external indebtedness had remained almost the best-kept state secret for rather a long time, I will take the liberty of presenting a more detailed narrative on this issue. Commenting on it, USSR Minister of Finance V. Pavlov reported: The budget revenue correspondingly includes an amount of R86 billion from our foreign economic activity. It emerged, however, that here we cannot rely only on our revenues from the exportation of output. Consequently, foreign loans are needed. How much? Estimates indicate, the finance minister declared, that we need to increase our indebtedness to R39 billion at the official USSR Gosbank [State Bank] rate. Moreover, V. Pavlov admitted: This is the permissible amount we can adopt today and, at the same time, the maximum we can attract. Without this sum, in his words, we will be unable to balance either the budget, or our national economy, or the population's money incomes.

The Supreme Soviet approved the amount. Here is another quite important detail: For the first time ever, in line with the accords reached at the Federation Council, all foreign loans will be taken out and distributed subject to the republics' consent. The republics take on obligations for the repayment of loans in the future.

I think readers will find it interesting and useful (since we are supposed to be switching to the market) to learn that the budget is more than simple arithmetic. As explained by A. Orlov, deputy chairman of the Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission, the budget's formulation has four aspects: political, technical, tactical, and strategic. This knowledge enabled him to ask the following question of the finance minister: In strategic terms, what sort of stable budget will we have, as far as sources are concerned, in the periods following 1991?

V. Pavlov's answer was as follows: First of all, we must know our strategy on two fundamental questions. First, how will we develop the national economy further, having stabilized it at this stage, and how will we divide powers in state management spheres between the Union, the republics, and the local soviets. Second, how will we distribute powers among state management organs and our economic organizations, enterprises, concerns, and associations.

From the viewpoint of the Basic Guidelines, we are now at the transitional period stage. Therefore, the current budget and the stabilization fund alike reflect the transitional period in question, which is conditioned by a decline of output and changes in the spheres of power between the Union and the republics. Here is the USSR finance minister's forecast for the future: Probably, we will ultimately come to rely on two revenue sources—profits tax and indirect taxes plus foreign economic ties. Expenditure will be dominated by social and cultural measures and ecological and nationwide programs for the opening up of new territories and sectors.

While discussing various budget articles, deputies repeatedly turned back to the topic of the draft budget's colossal deficit. And each time the country's finance minister reminded parliamentarians of the sad truth: There is no "normal" money in the exchequer to implement the programs, adopted by the Supreme Soviet itself, for raising the living standards of the population's low-income strata. Therefore, in adopting this emergency budget, additional sources had to be found and brought into play. The five-percent sales tax provides the method whereby everyone can "chip in" to support those on low incomes.

The last 15 minutes of the 10 January evening sitting were devoted to "Other Business." Three deputies spoke. L. Sukhov requested yet again that almost the entire population of the country be investigated to find out who has accumulated what, who has made how much and how.

Deputy A. Shamikhin proposed that the country's parliament demand of Latvia's Supreme Soviet and government the adoption of measures along the lines suggested in the USSR president's address to the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

Deputy A. Yezhelev drew the USSR Supreme Soviet's attention to the pitiful state of newspapers and journals, which were the first in the country to adopt market relations. The threat of bankruptcy, he noted, is even hanging over the country's leading newspapers like KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, PRAVDA, and others. All this has been caused by the paper department's diktat which hiked paper prices. What could be the result of this diktat? Here is A. Yezhelev's opinion: Total information crisis. The press, he remarked, having only just experienced freedom, has gained the freedom to be stifled. The deputy suggested that the Union government establish control over the price and distribution of paper.

Defense Budget Debate, Adoption Detailed

PM1201145791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by legislative correspondent Captain Second Class V. Urban: "How Much Will Defense Cost?"]

[Text] The defense of any state is very costly. Ours is no exception. But the closer the Union legislature came to the discussion of the "military section" of the 1991 state budget, the more debates there were in the press.

For example, it was said that this year military spending is 35 percent of the budget whereas in recent years it was only around 17 percent. Although it is clear to anyone with a detailed knowledge of politics and economics why this "increase" occurred, it has to be explained. Previously, percentages were based on a computation of the Union and republic budgets. Now, however, given the legally established demarcation of functions between the Union and the subjects of the federation, the Union budget only finances all-Union programs, science, foreign economic activity, the army, and the administrative services.

Admittedly, when it came to the article-by-article discussion of the draft law on the USSR state budget, deputies themselves had already begun to get to grips with these problems quite well. But the actual adoption of the law was quite difficult, particularly when the discussion turned to the expenditure section of the budget, and lasted all day Thursday. It was not until the end of the sitting that deputies had reached Article 15, which specifies defense appropriations .

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported that the Council of Ministers proposed approving military spending in the sum of 98,563,000,000 rubles [R] but after a discussion at the conciliation commission this figure was reduced by R2 billion. "Taking into account the situation in the country"—that was how the decision may be summarized. But as is well known, parliament itself takes the final decision on all things.

Deputy V.A. Martirosyan, a colonel, said this money is needed to increase the monetary allowance of all categories of servicemen, to improve catering, for the switch to the new form of clothing, and so forth.

But here is the viewpoint of Yu.G. Samsonov, deputy chairman of the Defense and State Security Committee:

"You know that at the first congress it was decided to reduce the 1990-1991 defense budget by 14 percent, but if the Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission's proposed sum of R96,563,000,000 is adopted, the reduction will be 19.3 percent..."

He also said that in reducing spending on the purchase of military hardware the country will suffer tremendous losses. A reduction of purchases by R1 billion alone will mean losses twice that figure. But supposing the reduction is R2 billion? As the calculations show, around 70,000 people will lose their jobs. Profit will fall by R240 million, with a loss of R110 million to the budget. Various forms of compensation for workers and the mothballing of production units will cost another R40 million-R50 million. Consequently, the Defense and State Security Committee believes it is necessary not only to retain the figure submitted by the government but even to increase spending by R1.1 billion in view of the need for new scientific developments.

I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers with responsibility for the defense complex, spoke next and advocated the R98,563,000,000 figure. But as V.G. Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission, still had not accepted the arguments of the defense industry's "clients," further discussion was postponed until morning. [Urban report ends]

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial footnote] As this report was being prepared for publication, our correspondent reported that after a discussion of almost 2 hours, the Supreme Soviet approved military spending of R96,563,000,000 for this year.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Remarks on Force Authorization

LD1401231191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2134 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Dmitriy Kisilev including exchange between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and unidentified correspondent in Moscow on 14 January; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Gorbachev] Regarding protection, this was decided by the commandant. He did, it is true, report to the deputy commander of the Military District.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, but did you authorize the use of force?

[Gorbachev] As for the protection, I, er, no, it was already morning when I found out.

[Kiselev] Thus today the conjectures expressed as early as in yesterday's 1500 Television News Service newscast were finally confirmed: The Army in Vilnius stormed civilian buildings and directed fire on people independently, without receiving any authorization whatsoever from the political leadership of the country. This follows from today's explanation in parliament by Marshal Yazov. [passage omitted] So, it all happened on the basis of the military regulations of garrison and guard services. We will refrain from evaluations and continue the news.

Academic Warning on Gorbachev Shift to Right

AU1401114391 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 12-13 Jan 91 p 7

[Report by Corinna Emundts: "Shift to the Right Might Be Dangerous"]

[Text] Munich, 11 January—Gorbachev's "shift to the right" might be dangerous for the Soviet president, Vyacheslav Dashichev, member of the Moscow Academy of Sciences and government adviser, says. In a lecture at Munich University, the 65-year-old scientist criticizes Gorbachev's "half-hearted policy" concerning the introduction of the market economy, leading to a loss of popularity among the population. It is his mistake that he is relying too much on the conservatives, "who do not want him."

If the conservatives get even more power, Soviet foreign policy will also change. "Shevardnadze's resignation showed that he was not able to implement his goals in line with the 'new thinking.'"

Gorbachev cannot use his unlimited powers because of the resistance of the republics. If the president should try to enforce them, "this would mean a civil war between the republics and the central government." According to Dashichev, the Soviet attitude toward the Gulf crisis is too passive. "It is a triumph for the political bandit Saddam Husayn," the scientist stated.

Intervention Not End to Perestroyka

AU1501142791 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 15 Jan 91 p 2

["cas" report: "Perestroyka Not at an End"]

[Text] Bonn—Leonid Sharin, chairman of the Committee of the Supreme Soviet for Defense and State Security Issues does not believe that the course of restructuring in the USSR is endangered because of the intervention by the Soviet Army in Lithuania. There are sufficient forces that want to continue perestroyka, Sharin told defense officials of the Bundestag in Bonn on Monday [14 January]. He also stressed that there will be no military coup or a return to dictatorship.

Ten Soviet defense experts met for the first time on Monday with their FRG colleagues to discuss the situation in Lithuania, the Gulf, and of the Soviet troops in Germany. The CDU [Christian Democratic Union] parliamentarian Bernd Wilz stated after the meeting that the German representatives clearly voiced their concern about events in Vilnius and expressed the hope that the situation will soon normalize. SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] Deputy Erwin Horn pointed out that the Soviet visitors were clearly dismayed about the intervention of the Armed Forces. As a matter of fact, the presumption that the Army might have intervened without President Mikhail Gorbachev's approval was not confirmed, but the statements of the Soviet representatives "suggested that the Army might have acted independently to a certain extent," Horn stated.

According to Horn, Committee Chairman Sharin, referring to the situation in the Gulf, stressed that force should not be applied. The preservation of peace must be the ultimate goal in politics. In the case force is used, nobody can foresee the consequences.

The partners in the talks concurred that the Soviet troops in Germany should be supported "in material and intellectual respect" until their final withdrawal. According to Horn, the Soviet representatives stressed that the deserters have no political motives, but are "economic refugees." For this reason, they should not be granted asylum in the FRG. They are not facing the death penalty in the USSR. This is inconceivable. The defense officials from Moscow believe that barracks of the Soviet Army in East Germany should be opened for talks and for an exchange of experiences with German soldiers to improve relations with German citizens.

Intermovement Assails Yeltsin, 'Separatists'

LD1401214491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan. [TASS]—The aggravation of the situation in South Ossetia and the Soviet Baltic republics is the inevitable consequence of the anti-people, anti-socialist, separatist policies being pursued by the current leadership of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Georgia, says a statement circulated here today by the organizational bureau of the Intermovement of the USSR, adopted because of the events in the Baltic region and South Ossetia.

Attempts by certain politicians and a number of the mass media in this country and abroad to describe these events as interethnic conflicts are far from reality. At the heart of the tension, the document says, lie not ethnic, but social contradictions. Their interethnic nature is being artificially whipped up by the mass media of a particular orientation.

The current course in the politics and economies of the Baltic republics and Georgia being pursued by their separatist leadership is condemning many of the inhabitants of these regions, including practically the whole of their nonindigneous part, to poverty, loss of rights, and a position of second-class citizens. Anti-army sentiments are being intensively instigated with the aim of weakening the Soviet Union.

The majority of the working people, and primarily the working class—in the view of the organizational bureau of the USSR Intermovement—does not accept the policies of the separatists, who hold as their aim the secession of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Georgia from the USSR and the restoration of bourgeois ways.

In the final analysis this gave rise to the explosion of dissatisfaction among the working people.

The organizational bureau of the USSR Intermovement rejects the position adopted in the situation in question by the presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and sees it as "a continuation of Boris Yeltsin's policy of cobbling together a common front of forces opposing the so-called center, but in fact pulling the Soviet Union apart." It is well known that it was in just such a spirit that Boris Yeltsin's statement at his meeting with the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in Jurmala in the summer of 1990 was couched, the statement says.

At the same time the organizational bureau stated that the Intermovement will support the actions of the USSR leadership in ensuring democratic law and order and stabilization of the situation in the country.

Federation Council on Lithuania, Union Treaty

PM1301180991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Federation Council's Sitting"]

[Text] A sitting of the Federation Council, with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev in the chair, was held in the Kremlin 12 January.

The situation in the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was examined outside the set agenda. It was emphasized that it is extremely important to act using political methods, on the basis of the USSR Constitution and laws. The president's proposal that Federation Council representatives be sent to the republic to clarify the prevailing situation and elaborate proposals on necessary measures was adopted.

The question of further work on the draft Union Treaty was discussed within the agenda's framework. It was deemed expedient to conduct this work stage by stage, bringing to the fore questions necessary for the political and economic stabilization of the country. It was agreed that direct work on the draft document will be conducted by plenipotentiary representatives of the republics, and that an expert group will be set up to assist them. It was noted that this work must be conducted in an atmosphere of broad glasnost and with the public's involvement.

The sitting completed its discussion of the 1991 agreement on the stabilization of the socioeconomic situation. The document has been accepted by the republics, and appropriate instructions have been issued to the Union and republic governments on certain questions which need additional work. At the conclusion of the discussion on this question, the president stressed the agreement's importance for the earliest possible normalization of the situation, as well as for bringing Soviet people's daily life back to normal.

Gorbachev Praises Council

LD1201235391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Report by V. Stepanyuk and S. Medvedev from 12 January Moscow Federation Council meeting, including recorded remarks by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, and recorded interviews with Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Valeryanovich Gorbunovs, with Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, and with Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet; correspondents not individually identified throughout; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] We begin our newscast with a report from our correspondents on today's meeting of the Federation Council. Discussion was completed on an agreement for 1991 on stabilizing the socioeconomic situation in the country. In the view of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, this agreement is of fundamental importance for the earliest possible normalization of the situation, and for bringing the everyday life of Soviet people back to its normal course.

[Correspondent] From preliminary conversations with participants in the meeting, we already knew that today was to see discussion on the economic agreement between the republics for this year rounded off. The absence of such a document is a brake on further work on the Union Treaty, and indeed implementation of the plan and budget now being endorsed is impossible. For this reason, optimism was provided by the president's opening remarks.

[Gorbachev] In the main this agreement can in fact now be said to be in the concluding final phase, in its final steps. I want to say—and republican leaders and the Federation Council welcome the fact—that we, comrades, have dealt with a huge matter which has made it possible to come up with a budget; and, what is most important of all, with a piece of work which should bear fruit. Of course, everything lies ahead, but this has been an important matter.

[Correspondent] The course of the meeting confirmed the fact: the agreement was passed by the republics. True, there are questions that require further working out, but appropriate instructions about these were given to the union and republican governments. This document opens up not only new economic prospects, but political ones too. What we have in mind here first and foremost is the preparation of a Union Treaty. The members of the Federation Council decided today to conduct this in stages, focusing on those issues which have to be resolved if stabilization of the situation in the country is to be possible. It was agreed that plenipotentiary representatives of the republics will work directly on the document, with an expert group being set up to assist them.

As is often the case, real life today intruded into the agenda. Clearly the Council could not at this time disregard the situation which has come about in Lithuania. In fact, this question was the first to be discussed.

[Correspondent] We asked some participants in the meeting to comment on today's decision.

Anatolijs Valeryanovich, there have been quite a few reports in the press lately suggesting that the Baltic Republics will not discuss or sign the economic agreement. But your presence here at the Federation Council points to something different. What is your position?

[Gorbunovs] That is not completely true. When I spoke at the USSR Supreme Soviet I said that we should begin with precisely the economic agreement. As for the specifics of the agreement, we have already discussed them in principle, and this economic agreement wholly suits us. Well, there are just some details to refine, but in principle we shall be signing this agreement.

[Correspondent] It was decided today to do without a debate. Does this mean that for all practical purposes, all contentious issues have been eliminated?

[Gorbunovs] On the principles of the agreement, as far as Latvia is concerned, contentious issues have indeed been resolved. We know the size of the contribution we have to make to the Union budget, and we are reaching agreement about that.

[Corresondent] In other words, you too support the view that Union bodies are necessary and that they need to be provided with finance?

[Gorbunovs] Naturally, that is why this contribution is made. They are needed at the present time so that the economic cooperation currently developing in a horizontal structure might be provided for by union bodies.

[Correspondent] Nursultan Abishevich, the question has been posed many times of leveling out the starting possibilities of various republics at the time of the transition to the market. Tell me, how is that question to be tackled in the interim economic agreement adopted for 1991?

[Nazarbayev] For example, Kazakhstan and other raw materials republics are those designated to supply raw materials for all the other processing industries, while almost half our requirements for consumer goods are imported from other republics. Now, when we are beginning the transition to the market economy, and in the conditions of the adopted sovereignty declarations, we are becoming self-reliant in financing our own budget, and all these distortions have now surfaced. For this reason two questions arise. Either we have to raise raw material prices to a level ensuring a normal living return for the labor collectives, or—as was formerly the case—what these enterprises fail to make in the way of revenue has to be made up by subsidies. At the current stage we are pushing for leveling out precisely in this respect—at this stage. So the interim agreement determines the revenue side of the country's and the republics' budgets via a certain tax system. This matter—the question of subsidies to republics—is in principle being resolved now by the USSR Ministry of Finance, although there are still many unresolved issues. In the global perspective, the leveling out of living standards and the economic situations of republics should be tackled through a change in the structure of the economy.

[Ter-Petrosyan] In the first place, all the republics proceed from a sense of concern over what awaits us this year, and the positions of all the republics come down to one of preserving, even if only for this year, all the existing economic networks.

[Correspondent] They are already beginning to break up, indeed in some place they have already broken up.

[Ter-Petrosyan] That is precisely the point. So, as afterward—after this—to move over to more deep-rooted transformations in the economy, to new relations between republics.

[Correspondent] The last question. You have just been discussing the Lithuanian issue?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Yes.

[Correspondent] What conclusion did you reach?

[Ter-Petrosyan] We came to the conclusion that a way out, a political way out of this crisis situation has to be found. For that purpose, a delegation of the Federation Council has been set up to go to Lithuania. I am also a member of the delegation.

Ter-Petrosyan Praises Federation Role

LD1201183191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS)—A high appraisal of the USSR Council of the Federation's ability to act was given by Levon Ter-Petrsoyan, one of the participants in today's session and chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. The former dissident, who was recently elected to the supreme state post in this southern Soviet republic, also believes that together with the growth in the role of the Council of the Federation there will also be a reduction in the role of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"This is already the second session of the Council of the Federation in which I have had occasion to participate. On both occasions the Council has been discussing decisions most important for the country and the republics," Levon Ter-Petrosyan said. "Insofar as all the union and autonomous republics are represented in the Council, this enables it to make effective decisions with the consent of the republican authorities."

Supreme Soviet Deputies Assess Lithuanian Events

LD1501040691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Foyer interviews with USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies D.N. Kugultinov, R.A. Medvedev, A.F. Veprev. Z.K. Gukasov, and A.N. Krayko, by unidentified correspondent; at the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 14 January; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] It is always like this when any kind of sharp question is discussed in the Supreme Soviet. But today, concerning events in Lithuania, the session corridors became, in the most direct sense, a continuation of the session hall. In my view, the only sensible proposal in all of the 90 minutes of the morning session on what took place in Lithuania was made by you.

[Kugultinov] This proposal proceeds from the facts.

First, we sent deputies so that they could learn about and explain everything on the scene, and return and report to us. That should have been objective information. Without that objective information we could not conduct a conversation. Secondly, we do not know what will happen in an hour's time in Lithuania, in Vilnius, in Kaunas. Perhaps blood will be spilt again. Therefore we should have adopted a decision immediately, a decision of the Supreme Soviet, forbidding both the Defense Minister and the Internal Affairs Minister, everybody, both on that side and on the other, I said on all sides, so that there would not be a single shot.

[Medvedev] If I had the information, if I received reports from the various people who are acting there, I would be able to take some kind of position. At this time, I do not have any other position apart from one of regret, apart from a position of alarm, apart from a position of feelings of tragedy, apart from feelings of the danger which has come to hang over the Union.

[Veprev] As a whole, the Baltic republics make a very complicated tangle. Of course, it had to be resolved somehow, but I think that the bayonet cannot resolve such questions.

[Correspondent] What needs to be done now?

[Veprev] I think that everything necessary needs to be done so questions are resolved by the lawful government elected by the people by democratic means.

[Correspondent] What's your view, were the decisions of the commander of the garrison lawful?

[Veprev] Of course not. They were not lawful.

[Gukasov] I think that the thing needs to be examined. You see, the Defense Minister is insisting that they acted lawfully. The Minister of Internal Affairs is not commenting on this. So far, he is refraining from comment. I think that we, too, shouldn't be commenting at the moment. They will return and tell us, and then conclusions will be drawn in a considered fashion.

[Krayko] I think that the measures that were taken, despite the fact that the Lithuanian leadership is indeed violating the laws of the Union and the Union Constitution, were still not adequate, not adequate in regard to what the answer should have been. In this respect, that answer, with the use of force, worked for the Lithuanian leadership. It seems to me that we need to return to the situation as it was up to the 12th, to the maximum degre possible. Undoubtedly you can't bring back the people that have been killed. I think that investigations will continue to be carried out there as to what, how and why. I imagine the reaction of servicemen to, if that is how it was as they said here, when their commander was killed by a bullet in the back, in front of their eyes. But, I still think that to a maximum degree we need to return, return the television building and the radio to the Lithuanian Government. But at the same time, it seems to me that the interests of the minority, if it is still a minority now, which does not have access to the mas news media, need to be given maximum protection.

Officials React to Gorbachev 11 Jan Statement

LD1101172491 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 11 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—A way out of the crisis in Lithuania can be found, provided the Lithuanian authorities show goodwill, Aleksandr Dzasokhov, member of the Soviet parliament, Politburo member and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, told TASS, commenting on Thursday's address by President Mikhail Gorbachev to the Lithuanian parliament.

In his appeal, Gorbachev stated that the authority of the Constitution of the USSR and Lithuania should be restored immediately to the full on the territory of the republic.

The address, which was couched in the calm language characteristic of the Soviet president, "provides the Lithuanian parliament with a realistic opportunity to recognise and meet the requirements that come from dozens and, maybe, hundreds of thousands of people, not just from some individuals," Dzasokhov emphasised, voicing hope that "this opportunity will be responded to."

Over the years of perestroyka, the Soviet leadership "has not yet used such a form as presidential rule in reacting to developments in individual areas," Dzasokhov said. At the same time, he believes, the introduction of presidential rule in Lithuania is not ruled out, "particularly if events do not acquire a constructive character."

In TASS interviews today, Soviet lawmakers agreed that developments in Lithuania give rise to serious concern. At the same time prognoses of future developments were varied.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, an adviser to the president, believes that "everything is clear" about the situation concerning the republic. Economist Pavel Bunich expresses serious concern over the course of events and their unpredictibility.

The situation in Lithuania, just as that in Latvia and Estonia, is in a deadlock. "Such a message could have been addressed to all three Baltic republics at once," said Colonel Viktor Alksnis from Riga.

The Soviet president's address "was necessary as a warning," he emphasised. At the same time the Lithuanian authorities will not seize upon the chance given in Gorbachev's message, Alksnis said, describing the leaders of the republic as "hostages of their own policy."

Moscow Rally Protests Lithuanian Events

LD1501043291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1243 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] A lot of people gathered today at Manezh Square in Moscow. Several thousand people turned up at a rally organised by democratic forces and several Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and USSR People's deputies.

The subject raised in the speeches was the agonizing, oppressive and alarming situation in Lithuania, and events in that republic. Our correspondent Aleksandr Korshunov was at the rally. Over to him:

[Korshunov] You are already familiar with objective information about what has been happening in Lithuania. People's Deputy Stankevich, one of the leaders of the Moscow soviet, answered my question about what information he has, as a people's deputy, about matters in Lithuania.

[Begin recording] [Stankevich] The information we have received today amounts to the following: Last night the television center was stormed by troops. About several thousand citizens have gathered around the Lithuanian Supreme Council. They were surrounded and reluctant to disperse. Lithuania's permanent representative in Moscow, Bickauskas, has reported that the Lithuanian prime minister and his family have disappeared without trace. The chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council is in the Supreme Council building and has delivered an appeal to the population to defend the freedom of Lithuania and not to recognize any government other than the legally elected one. Moreover, the Lithuanian foreign minister, who is currently abroad, has been empowered to form a Lithuanian government-in-exile if the Lithuanian Supreme Council is interned. That is the information we have received through our communications channels this morning.

[Korshunov] What actions do you propose to take tomorrow, I mean the Moscow soviet?

[Stankevich] I am not prepared to talk about any specific actions, but first and foremost we (?may) assess events and express our attitude about them, that is the main thing. [end recording]

[Korshunov] At the rally I saw quite a few placards and slogans, the most indelicate, if I can put it like that, were the following: Red Fascism in Action!, Freedom to Lithuania!, and President - Give back the Nobel Peace prize!. For the first time in my life today I saw people being beaten with rubber batons.

Chanting Freedom to Lithuania, part of those attending the rally, mainly young people, about thirty people, headed from Manezhnaya Ploshchad to the History Museum passage. They apparently intended to make for Red Square. Several busloads of militiamen immediately cut them off from Aleksandrovskiy Svker, and prevented the demonstators from proceeding any further. The latter attempted to carry out their intentions, however, and the democrtizers came down on their heads. After this, ranks of militiamen, led by a major, according to all the rules of their special science, as it were, repulsed the offensive of the enemy, to use a military term, and literally flung the demonstrators into an underground passage on the corner of the History Museum passage and the Vladimir Ilyich Museum. Even so, the rally continued just the same and the militia did not impede it any more.

Yuriy Afanasyev and Sergey Stankevich spoke, saying that the present moment can be seen as a turning point for the development of the internal political situation in the Union. If the present tendency towards totalitarianism is not changed, the country may expect worse times.

The demonstrators decided to go to Staraya Ploshchad, to the CPSU Central Committee building, to demand that Soviet Army units be withdrawn from Lithuania.

PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA Reports Differ

PM1301174791

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 January 1991 on page two of its First Edition carries the following TASS report under the headline "Rally in Moscow":

"A noisy but not too well attended action by Moscow supporters of the present Lithuanian leadership began with an unsanctioned rally in Manezhnaya Square and ended with a manifestation in Staraya Ploshchad. In Staraya Ploshchad, the action clearly got out of the control of its organizers—a number of USSR, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and Moscow City Soviet people's deputies. The demands heard at the rallies ignored the Federation Council decision, adopted the day before, that a way out of the situation in Lithuania should be sought only by political methods.

"Insults against the country's state leadership and the CPSU were heard. In conclusion, the demonstrators made their way in the direction of Kalinin Prospekt, where they had decided to hold yet another action, but they had lost their supporters along the way. The city inhabitants were clearly unwilling to take part in this incomprehensible manifestation.

"N.S. Myrikov, deputy chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] Main Administration for Internal Affairs, told a TASS correspondent that members of the Democratic Union aktiv, headed by V. Novodvorskaya, stood out in terms of their fervor during the manifestation."

The Union Edition of Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 January 1991 frontpages the following unattributed report, datelined Moscow 13 January, under the headline "About Lithiuania—in the Center of Moscow":

"The editorial office has learned that people worried about the development of events in the Baltics started gathering in Manezh Square around midday. A group of USSR people's deputies arrived, including G. Popov, S. Stankevich, and T. Gdlyan. They were joined by supporters of Democratic Union leader V. Novodvorskaya. Those assembled carried different slogans, including some of clearly extremist nature.

"A total of about 2,000 people assembled in the square and in the streets and lanes around 'Moskva' Hotel. But no rally materialized—due to the divergence of their positions, the demonstrators split into different columns and dispersed.

"The Moscow militia detained 14 persons headed by V. Novodvorskaya for breaches of public order."

Commentary on Media Coverage of Vilnius Events

LD1401234491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Commentary by Sergey Pravdin from the "International Diary" program]

[Text] Both President Bush and Chancellor Kohl, and other leaders from the West, replying to questions from journalists, point out that not everything is clear to them regarding the events that occurred. It is not completely clear in our country. I can say that if one is to judge from what the press in the West is saying about the dramatic events in Vilnius, its information on this count is no fuller than ours.

On this point I would like to hold the attention of our listeners. This is why. Today, at the morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a reproach was directed at the chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting that he, they said, keeps people starved of news. I can say that this is not correct. Yesterday I saw almost all the news that we put out and that the West put out on the events in Lithuania. I saw what the program Vremya then put out. This news was practically the same, and there was in actual fact a great deal of it.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pugo and Minister of Defense Yazov were not able to answer any quetsions today put to them by the deputies, because they did not have a complete picture of what happened. The only thing that definitely followed from their speeches was that the Center did not give instructions on using military force in Vilnius, that the decision—Vilnius radio and television noted—was made by the commander of the local garrison. The fact that presenters reported the surnames and addresses of officers perceived as a threat to servicemen served as the reason for this. The absence of a complete picture led to an analysis of what happened being postponed by the Supreme Soviet until the commission sent by it to Lithuania returned to Moscow. Incidentally, this morning President Gorbachev stated that he only learned of the tragic events in Vilnius yesterday morning.

Envoy in Hungary Defends Lithuania Actions

LD1401213691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] This morning, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky called in Ivan Aboimov, Soviet ambassador to Hungary, and protested about the events in Lithuania. After the meeting Zoltan Csaki interviewed the Soviet diplomat.

[Aboimov] I said that the Soviet leadership had been and continues to be of the view that such problems must be settled by political means and political instruments. At the same time, I said that given the present state of developments everyone must be very careful and very responsible in judging the events, because drawing conclusions when you are offended could lead to various complicated situations.

[Csaki] In your view, did Gorbachev know about the aggression?

[Abaimov] There is no question of any kind of aggression. I reject this expression in connection with these developments.

Gorbachev Views Interrepublic Treaties

91UN0485A Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 1 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with Soviet President Gorbachev by MOLOD UKRAYINY correspondent Vitaliy Portnykov: "M. Gorbachev: This is Our Last-Ditch Attempt"]

[Text] The President of the Soviet Union moves through the Kremlin expanses with the speed of a jet plane: the familiar figure is seen at the exit, then suddenly he is already at the other end of the enormous hall. The hefty bodyguards can hardly keep up with their energetic "boss." So without a lot of support from one's colleagues, it is impossible to catch up with the President. That is, of course, unless he himself approaches the journalists. This time, Mikhail Sergeyevich decided to stop. Why? Was he, perhaps, attracted by the enchanting smile of Carrie Goldberg of "Associated Press"? In any case, we want to thank our colleague for this chance to talk with the President—it is always desirable to thank a lady, even in a difficult political situation...

[Correspondent] First of all, Mikhail Sergeyevich, how do you feel about the agreements concluded by the republics, in particular, the RSFSR and Ukraine?

[Gorbachev] I think they should be encouraged. But the agreements have a major flaw: they make very many political declarations, instead of pitching in to work together. Business-like relations must be established. Otherwise, everything suffers, ties esential to our surival are destroyed . It is a complex organism—that is how it was formed, whether we like it or not. We have already said that we condemn this total system and will rework it. But we are politicians and in politics one must always deal with reality. Our reality is this: the people are all mixed together, the economy is linked more than anywhere else in the world. To what an absurd degree specialization has been taken! We have so many monopolies, supermonopolies. . . And now we must take the road of demonopolization, denationalization, to attain a market economy. And to do this, we must also make use of what we inherited from the old system and bring in the market. For us, as for no other country, it will be difficult to shift to the market, and here conversion must also be added, affecting many people.

[Correspondent] There are people who oppose conversion?

[Gorbachev] They want to play on sacred feelings towards the Army, on the loss of 26 million in the war. Of course, it is understandable that nobody wants this to happen again. But people must realize that the arms race was difficult even for the Americans, and their living standard is higher. And for us to go cheek-to-jowl with them, they would have to lie prostrate. All funds, materials, 75 per cent of our best scientific efforts have been in the defense industry. This is a distorted, militarized economy. During that same time, defeated Germany, Japan, Italy were developing their economies, converting their industries. That is why we must now make use of our productive and intellectual potential—let it be known how those in the defense industry worked. The conversion program is now at the final stage in the government. Maybe some incentive has to be added for the period of transition. In two-three years, these enterprises will yield production able to compete on world markets. We were told this by foreign specialists, when they saw what kind of brains and funds we had there. . .

[Correspondent] But we will not trade in MiGs?

[Grobachev] We will trade in MiGs. And in tanks.

[Correspondent] We would like to return to the problem of building our society. How do you regard the prospects of the Union treaty? When should it be concluded, in your view, and under what conditions?

[Gorbachev] I am convinced that it must be signed in the next two months. There is a war of sovereignties, a war of laws, a war for authority owing to the lack of clarification of powers. I am, overall, a fervent adherent of the concept of sovereign republics—it was I who put it forward. And I look at it this way: if the concept had not been put forward, things would not go; the need for it became sharp. But this is the last ditch attempt. If we abandon it, do not pass the concept of the treaty, then the country will collapse. That is why I accept maximum decentralization of the economy, giving of sovereignty, the rebirth of all nations, languages, cultures, while taking into account the interests of all. In particular those already established. I have become convinced also out of experience linked to my activity and my decisions that we cannot split up. That is why we must divide up competencies. And let everyone enhance his own republic, have rights, but we will make an effort, as the whole world is doing, to intergrate. That is all. A new center is needed and new independent republics. This is put into the new draft of the Union treaty.

[Correspondent] Does the difficult situation in the Union affect our international standing?

[Gorbachev] Everyone wants things to turn out for us. Everyone is worried: God forbid, it will fail. For if it were not for what is happening here, there would be nothing. We would not have relations with the United States—they would not have become what they are today. These are unique nations. How similar Americans are to us! They also were formed like us—a state, huge expanses, enormous projects. This is also in our blood.

In the West, they want to see all that we have started brought to completion. But they ask: Who are we to deal with? Have you lost your minds there? We here, in Europe, passed Delore's proposition (the chairman of the European joint associations commission - V.P.), we are voting by majority, rejecting consensus, because it does not allow for passing resolutions, integrating, abolishing borders, introducing a single nationality. And we still have to live through all of that.

The Baltic republics pushed through ahead of all others. And now they are asking for help in their economies. All the premiers are here. In politics they are whimsical. But that is already another matter. Life is complicated.

[Correspondent] Recently, you have been sharply criticized in the press; not only that, collections of jokes have already begun to be sold. How do you react to that?

[Gorbachev] I cannot read all that. Although maybe I should keep some of it. Here I see in the newspaper KURANTY: Gorbachev is sitting and trying on the tsar's crown. I am astonished by these people, who after six years suspect me of dictatorship, monarchism. If we take the General Secretary—no dictator in the world had such power. And as for jokes. . . I was recently told this one: President Mitterand has one hundred mistresses and one of them has AIDS, but he does not know which one. President Bush has one hundred bodyguards, and one of them is a terrorist, but he does not know who. Gorbachev has one hundred economists, but only one is intelligent—and he also does not know which one. I liked that.

"Bravo!" shouted my foreign colleagues. "Well,take a rest," the President said to them, and instantly was already at the exit of the large Kremlin palace. Of course, some will be happy with his thoughts, others will reject them. But we have been given an exceptional opportunity to learn the position of the President of the Union in all its directness.

And this cannot hurt.

Gorbachev Visits Ryzhkov in Hospital

LD1201173691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1616 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS)—Immediately after the session of the Council of the Federation, Mikhail Gorbachev visited the Central Clinic where Nikolay Ryzhkov is under treatment. He found he was improving. A conversation about the country's current affairs and about society took place between them.

Mikhail Gorbachev wished Nikolay Ryzhkov a speedy recovery and conveyed cordial greetings from his comrades at work. Nikolay Ryzhkov thanked him for his attention and friendly support, and asked for his best wishes to be conveyed to everyone who was concerned about his health.

'Democratic Russia' Views Reactionary 'Onslaught'

LD1301112491 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Text] Expressions of deep concern at the situation in Russia and in the country in general have come from a full-scale session of the council of representatives of the Democratic Russia Movement, which opened today in Moscow. As the speakers pointed out, there is an overall deterioration of the situation in the country and reactionary and anti-perestroyka groups have passed to the offensive. They called on democratic and progressive forces throughout the country to unite to resist this onslaught.

Further on Democratic Russia Strike Call

LD1401070991 Moscow TASS in English 0702 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—The Democratic Russia movement today called for a general strike to demand the resignation of President Mikhail Gorbachev, the withdrawal of troops from Lithuania and to avert a dictatorship and civil war.

The protest has been scheduled for next Wednesday, according to the movement's plenum, which met in Moscow today.

The plenum demanded the holding of an emergency session of the Russian parliament to order the immediate withdrawal of troops from Lithuania.

The delegates passed several appeals to the people of Russia and the Ukraine, to Russian soldiers' mothers, to Cossacks, to the international community and other resolutions.

Today's meeting was held in an atmosphere of confusion, with many speakers pointing out that Soviet democrats were in crisis.

Supporters of the Democratic Russian movement held protests and rallies in various parts of Moscow today to demand the normalisation of the situation in Lithuania.

A similar demonstration organised by USSR People's Deputy Galina Starovoitova and involving republican and Soviet lawmakers was held in Red Square.

'Russian' Defense Committee Criticizes Yeltsin

LD1401225291 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] A Baltic committee for the defense of ethnic Russians and ethnic minorities has been set up at a special session of the centrist bloc of political parties and movements in Moscow.

Committee members strongly censured actions by the chairman of Russia's parliament, Boris Yeltsin, and described them as a betrayal of the interests of ethnic Russians in the Baltic and other Union and atonomous republics.

The committee demanded that presidential rule be introduced in the Baltic republics immediately.

Journalists' Union Says Glasnost 'In Danger'

LD1401182291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1757 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—The USSR Union of Journalists has circulated a statement expressing the fear that glasnost in the USSR is in danger. With every passing day, pressure is growing on the mass media, the statement notes.

Political blows are being struck at the editorials of a number of newspapers, magazines, news agencies, and TV programs. Things have reached the stage of outright attempts being made on the lives of journalists, the document says. At first a shot rang out in Leningrad—the well-known Leningrad TV journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov was injured. While carrying out an editorial task Salatyn Askerov, a journalist of the MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA newspaper, was killed. Shots were also fired in Kaluga—Ivan Fomin, editor of the oblast newspaper ZNAMYA was killed and photo journalist Gennadiy Golovkov was seriously injured. Criminal elements are also threatening other journalists.

The USSR Union of journalists expresses extreme concern at the situation which has arisen and demands that the law-enforcement bodies investigate as soon as possible the crimes perpetrated against journalists.

Burlatskiy Stresses Need for Pragmatism

91UF0327A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 1, 9 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by F. Burlatskiy under the rubric "The Life of the Country": "The Kremlin and the Riverside White House"]

[Text] In my necessarily short speech at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the occasion of the resignation of E.A. Shevardnadze I spoke about the culmination of a crisis of power and about the entire political process in the country. M.S. Gorbachev agreed with that evaluation, but he rejected another idea expressed in the name of 300 deputies—concerning a transition to the ascendancy of reactionary forces and the danger of dictatorship. I would very much like to believe that our president is right, not the resigning minister.

The most unbelievable theories are being put forward concerning E.A. Shevardnadze's statement. The most unbelievable and even repulsive was expressed at the congress itself. The Georgian syndrome. It is unbelievable because the Georgians, independent of their future status, have always been proud of such a minister. It is repulsive inasmuch as it has lent a nationalist overtone to an important political turning point taking place before our eyes.

Is Shevardnadze really the only one leaving? And what about A.N. Yakovlev, V.V. Bakatin, S.S. Shatalin, and many other figures? Does it not mean that the ship of perestroyka has sprung a major leak and they wish to save it by throwing overboard the "ballast" of liberalism? This is neither the time nor the place to list the results of perestroyka, but one thing is clear: It has generated its best results in the sphere of foreign politics. All of mankind will always be deeply grateful to M.S. Gorbachev for this and will not forget the personal contributions of E.A. Shevardnadze either. Time will tell what the president's new team will be like. The main appointments—the prime minister and the ministers—are still to come.

Where do we go from here? I wanted to give my concept of the existing dilemma and introduce my own proposals at the congress. But I did not get the floor, although I registered at three points on the agenda. Incidentally, the floor was not given to any of the representatives of our deputy's group, including such famous people as Ye.P. Velikhov, A.F. Veprev, A.M. Yemelyanov, N.P. Shmelev, and Yu.N. Shcherbak.

Back on the eve of the 19th party conference, when they were discussing a model for our democracy, I proposed direct national elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet—the country's first parliament—and of the president and vice president, the creation of a Constitutional Court, and the solemn affirmation of a Declaration of Human and Civil Rights. Many other specialists took those same positions.

But those who were close to the general secretary advised him to adopt the 1924 Leninist model of power, having little in common with a presidential republic. There was no doubt that M.S. Gorbachev had a real possibility of becoming the first president elected by all the people. Now they are coming around to the idea proposed three years ago, but under more difficult conditions. Incidentally, those same advisers dissuaded the general secretary from beginning perestroyka with agricultural reform as I and many other specialists proposed back in 1985. In China, for example, a simple transition to family lease holding achieved unprecedented results. Over five years they increased production by one-third and fed more than a billion of the country's population. Khrushchev also began successful reforms in agriculture, but he failed precisely when he began to ruin the individual sector in that sphere.

And now, as a result of perestroyka, the people no longer care about new comforts but instead long for the most elementary order. They long for the distribution of goods. For safety on the streets and in their homes. For an end to ethnic conflicts. The congress took place under that motto—order! But how and what kind—that is the question.

Everyone remembers the speeches of the colonels at the congress. I say of the colonels and not simply of people's deputies of the USSR because we have the only parliament which military deputies attend in uniform. Nowhere else in the world, by the way, is there such a quantity of servicemen in the representative body. Somehow they believe that their place is in the executive organs. True, the founder of the American Congress was General Washington, but he gave up that title before running for president.

I listened to deputy Colonel V.I. Alksnis, who, in a bare-faced appeal, told the audience, "Yes, I am a hawk"—trying to convince us that it is not his own nature that makes him a hawk but some other very bad people. And in my mind a strange scene appeared. Combined units of tanks move in a tight column along a bridge, past the building of the former CEMA, and enclose the White House on the bank of the Moscow River in a tight ring. A front-line colonel enters the meeting hall of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and declares in a thunderous voice, "The guard is tired. You are dissolved!"

But I quickly drove away that apparition. History does not repeat itself, and if it does repeat itself then it is more likely as farce than as tragedy. What happened in Prague in 1968 cannot happen here. That is all yesterday's news, or rather yesterday's tanks—there is no bringing them back, they are the scrap of history.

I was amused—I cannot find any other word—by the striking indulgence of the colonels toward Saddam Husayn. It has reached the point that they are now demanding adoption of a special declaration of noninterference in events in the Persian Gulf. They are the ones citing Afghanistan, counting on the simple-minded incompetence of their audience.

But why are these same colonels now defending Iraq so passionately? It is no enigma. Iraq was the chief purchaser of our weapons and the chief consumer of military advisers, to whom it paid a handsome sum of money (many of them did not wish to leave even now, despite the threat of an air attack). Saddam Husayn, according to Western sources, owes us $10 billion. At the commercial rate of exchange that is 200 billion rubles [R]. Which department will have to swallow those losses?

We really do need order, but there is quite a different alternative.

...I sit in the first rows of a pompous audience at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and look at the expressions of the people in the congress presidium; they are stretched in front of us in a straight line. M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR, and B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, sit beside one another and... make a point of looking away from each other. By a strange accident in the location of chairs, the president must look to the left and the chairman—to the right...

Let us forget their personal feelings—in serious politics they are of little importance. What can so divide these two figures of perestroyka who for 30 years professed the very same communist ideal, two Russian people nurtured in the bosom of the very same Fatherland and the very same political culture?

Unexpectedly I recalled the green lawn inside the fence of the White House in Washington. Gorbachev and Reagan, standing on a small platform behind a rostrum with the seal of the United States, exchanged triumphant, friendly speeches. It was the beginning of the end of the "cold war" between two nuclear monsters holding a whole human generation in terror.

Is it really possible that Gorbachev, who demonstrated unbelievable will, perseverance, and outstanding diplomatic tact in Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington in negotiations with the man who supposed us to be an evil empire, is it really possible that this same Gorbachev is unable to find the necessary approach to cooperation with Yeltsin and with the other new figures in our republics? I do not believe it. And Yeltsin, raised by the wave of perestroyka and initiated by Gorbachev—does he really not feel the need to seek compromise? After all, this too is an alternative, and it is the only real opportunity to bring order to the country.

They say that the president and the chairman are divided by the 500 days program. They say all they need to do is adopt that program and peace and prosperity will set in. No one argues with the idea of a market, but the market has become the same kind of ideological panacea that communism and developed socialism were at one time. What path do we take to it, what are the problems of the transition period, how do we teach people to work well, how do we teach them not to shirk and steal, where do we find good managers, what do we do with state property—a thousand questions and only one answer—open a market! But the people are not fools. They will go to a real market, not the promised one, and they will see meat for R30 per kilogram whereas in the era of stagnancy it was incomparably cheaper. You could not drive people to such a market even with Stalin's stick.

Of course the 500 days program had a populist temptation compared with the outwardly banal "Basic Directions..." Everything is written out. Everything is according to a plan. Everything is as it was in the best of times—only then it was a five year plan, and now it is a 500 day plan. Oh, these Russian simpletons who have taken on faith the idea of Marx: With good intentions, anything can be done from the top.

During the most difficult period of the post-war devastation Ludwig Erhard, the best and most brilliant economist and the founder of the German miracle, began with two or three practical steps. He acted, and he acted cleverly and successfully, step by step adjusting each decision to practical experience.

The idea of privatization is one more subject of dispute between the economic giants. A simple and even economically efficient resolution is clear. They have already begun to carry it out. There are two segments of society fully prepared to become private entrepreneurs (we will not brand them with the word "capitalist"). One is the bureaucrats of the various ministries and departments—for the time being they are our only managers. The other is the operators of the shadow economy—they have shown amazing tenacity even under conditions of total control by the state. In the West many people advise us to give that gang free reign (Marx said the same thing)—and there will be a market and goods—in short, there will be everything.

But how are we to convince the people? They undertook the revolution because they did not want the bourgeois around—they themselves wanted to own land and factories. The state (that is, the bureaucrats) cheated them and took everything themselves. And now the people should not get anything for their pains again? Nothing is simple, oh, nothing is simple at all. To be able to play the game without paying the penalty. There is a way out, and it has been proved in many countries. Lease holding, like in China, like in the Netherlands on the polders—the land saved from the sea—lifelong, inheritable lease holding. Joint-stock associations of labor collectives. Cooperatives. And, of course, protection of the private property of each citizen, whatever form that property takes—shares of stock, other securities, a private home, a bank account, a plot of land... Privatization not as a successful division of property but as a stimulus to free production activity— this is a real and fair way to do it.

Is it not time to act in a practical manner? If there is no food, find the means, a stimulus so that there will be food. If the militia is not coping with the situation, reinforce it, send some good men over from the military, teach them the laws, maintain them well, transfer about 100,000 cars from the state motor pools, purchase equipment abroad. If neighbors who have lived peacefully together for centuries are fighting, find mediators, help establish trust. But instead we have universal answers for everything: Fundamentally restructure things, regain control, reregulate things. Pragmatism means a business approach no matter whether it is American or Japanese pragmatism—it is the only way to solve problems.

The true culmination of the congress was V.S. Pavlov's report on the uncoordinated budget. This is how it ends up! Vital questions of the everyday life of the people are tangled up in a mire of demarcations of power and the ambitions of our boyars. There is a joke that Boris Nikolayevich tells that has come true: While waiting for Gorbachev and Yeltsin to begin to drop their differences, the people begin to drop dead. That was when it became clear that we need to start solving real problems and not have our heads in the clouds of ideological projects.

I was horrified—I cannot find another word—when I heard at the congress that there is enough food in the country. Who has it, where, when? How is this news going to be taken by the millions of people who are standing in lines for a scrap of meat or a bottle of milk? Who is guilty of the fact that there are no goods in the stores? The mythical mafia? The authorities are guilty, they dispose of the food, and all the stores and all the stores of food (with small exceptions) belong to them. [illegible] Ivan puts the blame on Petr, and Petr puts the blame on Ivan. What difference does it matter to the people which power is more to blame—the one in the Kremlin, the one in the White House on the river bank, or the one in the building opposite the monument to Yuriy Dolgorukiy, in whose times, if we are to believe the manuscripts, there was bread and meat and wine in abundance?

This is what M.S. Gorbachev, B.N. Yeltsin, L.M. Kravchuk, and N.A. Nazarev—all the old and new leaders of a great country—should be coming to agreement on.

They argue about sovereignty. But first it is necessary to clear up the main thing: Sovereignty of whom—the state or the people; sovereignty for whom—for the authorities and the rulers or for the common people—that is the question. The whole world experience in the 20th century answered that question long ago. Only we are dragging along and getting tangled in the snares of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Our group of deputies has proposed a reasonable alternative. Sovereignty—yes, but sovereignty of the people—the people of Russia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia, the people of the Union—but according to distinctions of citizenship, not ethnicity. The same as in the entire civilized world. The people of the United States are not an ethnic community, they are an entire population. The Indians in the United Kingdom are British, the Arabs in France are French, etc. We also proposed something else, and it is the main thing: To begin with the restoration of artificially broken economic ties and with an economic Union—not only all the republics but all normal people have an interest in this. To come to agreement about food, about prices, about formation of prices, about free circulation, about the liberation of labor, about economic guarantees, that is to say how people will live and work, and finally about a common market. And then, on this foundation of real interests, to build the entire structure of a new Union.

In summing up, I will note that things are not as bad as they seem. We only need to tackle them with intelligence, together, abandoning our arrogance and mutual aggravation. The revolution of dilettantes is over. It has had both positive and negative results—everyone may see them. The time is beginning—or should begin—for reforms prepared by wise specialists with the approval of all of society. I believe and hope that USSR President M.S. Gorbachev together with all the leaders of the republics will find in themselves the strength to begin a new stage in the life of the country. Then there will be order in the country, stabilization of the economy, a transition to free economic activities by citizens, and a beginning of general prosperity. That is how it has happened in other countries. It is also possible in this country. It would be good if this could be started simultaneously in the Kremlin, in the riverside White House, and in all the cities and villages of our country.

KGB Uncovers Goods Stockpiles Around Country

PM1401101991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Depots Reveal..."]

[Text] In the first 10 days of 1991 USSR KGB staffers, operating with representatives of other law-enforcement agencies and workers' control, detected considerable stockpiles of food and industrial goods, including imported goods, at depots and warehouses in 38 of the country's cities. These include Moscow, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Vladivostok, Kiev, Baku, Kazan, Yaroslavl, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Sumy, your TASS correspondent was informed at the USSR KGB Public Relations Center.

The practice of stockpiling general goods in enhanced demand continues. In Ryazan, 543 washing machines and 333 bicycles were discovered at the warehouse of the regional center of the "Gazavtotekhobsluzhivaniye" firm. Some 36 tonnes of meat, 11 tonnes of lard, and 11 tonnes of butter (received from March through December 1990) were being stored among fish products at warehouses of the "Karagandaryba" production association. At a Nakhodka furniture factory 320,000 cans of salmon were discovered. More than 200 kilograms of red salmon fillets in barrels, around 5,000 cans of salmon roe, and approximately 500,000 cans of various choice fish products were found at the Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk City Food Trading Center's fruit and vegetable depot.

Considerable material damage and large currency losses are being sustained by the state as a result of barter deals some Soviet organizations and enterprises are concluding with foreign partners.

A considerable quantity of uninstalled expensive imported equipment, the bulk of which is intended to boost the output of consumer goods and food products, was discovered during the checks carried out by security officers. In Moscow City and Moscow Oblast, for example, the value of such equipment detected amounts to 118 million foreign currency rubles and at enterprises in Moldova, Kuybyshev, Smolensk, Chelyabiinsk, Ashkhabad, Kremenchug, Simferopol, Michurinsk, Rostov, and Petrozavodsk comes to 36 milllion foreign currency rubles.

Internal Affairs Official on Organized Crime

91UN0674A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Dec 90 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report on interview with Militia Colonel A. Gurov, head of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Directorate on Fighting Organized Crime; place and date not given: "There Is a Limit to the Limitless"]

[Text] "Unfortunately," Aleksandr Ivanovich began our conversation, "fancy thoughts about how we will live in security and contentment when we achieve market relations are at the very least naive. The past 30 years were marked by a steady increase in crime in the country, and 1991 will be no exception. Rather to the contrary—the transition period will only intensify criminal activity. Law enforcement organs are especially concerned at the constant rise in profit-motivated crime, our most traditional form—even in pre-revolutionary Russia this constituted about 60 percent of crime overall, and today it is more."

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Excuse me, but could you be more specific about what types of crime show a tendency for growth?

[Gurov] I believe it is primarily larceny, i.e., clandestine theft of property, extortion, robbery, and swindling will assume the most refined forms.

We can assume that the percentage of crimes against individuals will remain high—crimes such as murder, infliction of grave bodily harm, and rape. It is very alarming to see growth trends in crimes committed by juveniles, recurring and occupational crime, and, of course, organized crime. It should probably be noted that this type of crime is becoming exceedingly dangerous and refined in recent times, and the grave economic and social situation in the country creates additional conditions for its development, especially in that sphere we refer to as the shadow economy. We must be prepared to fight crime in its new manifestations—such as major financial and trade machinations inside the country as well as abroad.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] A valid question arises: Is there a limit to the limitless?

[Gurov] In spite of everything I have said, I am convinced that there is. We should not lose optimism—we just need bold and decisive actions. We have lost too much time. Unfortunately, the passion for idle chatter overwhelming the country only plays into the hands of criminals. To this day laws with respect to fighting organized crime and corruption have not been adopted. The special service dealing with this is in its rudimentary stage of development and is forced to go after small fry. Year after year we repeat our own and others' mistakes. In the United States they argued for 10 years over whether there was a mafia or not. We cannot permit ourselves this luxury.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In your opinion, what regions of the country will be the hardest hit in 1991?

[Gurov] It seems to me it will be Moscow, Leningrad, the capitals of the Union republics, major industrial centers, free economic zones, the Far East, the Caucasus, and Central Asia.

Pavlov News Conference on Western Aid, Economy

LD1501125191 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Andrey Orlov and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] "The priority of the new Soviet cabinet will be to define the 'rules of the game' for enterprises, as the country switches to a market and establish an economic stabilisation fund," said new Soviet prime minister Valentin Pavlov who was appointed to this post on Monday [14 January].

Pavlov and two of his deputies, Vitaliy Doguzhiyev and Vladimir Velichko, who were also endorsed by parliament on Monday, gave a news conference here today.

Pavlov described defining the privatisation mechanism also as an urgent task. "Spontaneous progress in this direction leads to a situation where state property falls into 'dirty hands'," Pavlov said.

He emphasised that restructuring the economy proceeding from the requirements of scientific and technical progress should become a priority in his cabinet's activity.

"We are now treading the path that industralised countries covered in the mid-1970's. If the West does not help us, we will be doing the same only at a higher price for the country," Pavlov said.

Asked how the possible revision of Western countries' policy towards aid to the Soviet Union in connection with events in Lithuania will affect the Soviet economy, Pavlov said that he "always viewed Western aid as a socio-political rather than economic factor, as a manifestation of readiness to extend a helping hand."

"From the economic point of view, for instance, all West German food aid is enough to feed Moscow for just one day and not even a full day," Pavlov said.

Pavlov expressed hope that the accords on credit aid with Western countries would be implemented, "although they are not always put into effect fast enough and in the form in which we would like them to be implemented." Pavlov said the Soviet Union's foreign debt stood at 35 billion dollars.

Commenting on the relationships between the future cabinet and the Union republics, Pavlov noted that as finance minister he maintained close contacts with republican leaders. "If prevously we could find common ground despite all conflicts and disagreements, I think that we will be able to iron out our differences in future as well," Pavlov said.

He noted that opposing the centre to republics did not have a sound economic foundation, because economic ties were built, first and foremost, between enterprises rather than the Union and Republics.

"The cabinet is an element in the executive presidency system and because of this it does not have the legislative powers which the former Council of Ministers had," Pavlov said.

Decree on New Supreme Soviet Deputies

91UN0620A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Dec 90 Union Edition pp 2-3

[Decree of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies signed by Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet A. Lukyanov in Moscow on 27 December: "On the Election of USSR People's Deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet in Connection With the Renewal (Rotation) of its Membership"]

[Text] The USSR Congress of People's Deputies decrees:

1. To approve the protocol of the Audit Commission on the results of the secret vote in the elections to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet in connection with the renewal (rotation) of its membership.

2. To consider the following USSR people's deputies elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet:

Soviet of the Union

RSFSR

ALESHIN, Yevgeniy Pavlovich—USSR people's deputy from the All- Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin; general director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Rice, Krasnodar.

ANISIMOVA, Galina Anatolyevna—USSR people's deputy from the women's soviets united by the Committee of Soviet Women; secretary of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Questions of Transportation, Communications, and Information Science.

BALENKO, Aleksandra Georgiyevna—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League; member of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy.

BARYSHNIKOV, Ivan Antonovich—USSR people's deputy from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; marker at the Volga Automotive Plant imeni 50-Letiye SSSR, Tolyatti, Kuybyshev Oblast.

BELYAYEV, Vladimir Nikitich—USSR people's deputy from the Kantemirovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow; chairman of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Public Education and Upbringing.

BIRYUKOV, Vitaliy Aleksandrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Serovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Sverdlovsk Oblast; member of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Questions of Defense and State Security.

BORODULIN, Anatoliy Vladimirovich—USSR people's deputy from the Balashikhinskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow Oblast; leader of brigade of fitter-assemblers of the Balashikhinskiy smelting and mechanics plant.

BRAGIN, Anatoliy Stepanovich—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Voluntary Society for Contributing to the Army, Air Force, and Navy; chairman of the local Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF] organization of the production association Zavod imeni Leninskiy Komsomol, Komsomolsk- na-Amure, Khabarovsk Kray.

VALOV, Vladimir Arkadyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Suyevskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kostroma Oblast; deputy chairman of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union on Questions of the Development of Industry, Energy, Technical Equipment, and Technology.

VASILYEV, Boris Gennadyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Kostromskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kostroma Oblast; deputy chairman of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Questions of the Development of Industry, Energy, Technical Equipment, and Technology.

VORONOV, Sergey Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the All- Union Lenin Communist Youth League; machine operator of 40 let Oktyabrya Collective Farm [kolkhoz], Kashirskiy Rayon, Voronezh Oblast.

VORONTSOV, Anatoliy Yevgenyevich—USSR people's deputy from the kolkhozes united by the Union Council of Kolkhozes; chairman of the Leninets Kolkhoz, Bryanskiy Rayon, Bryansk Oblast.

GLAZUNOV, Aleksandr Nikolayevich—USSR people's deputy from the Lipetskiy Territorial Electoral District, Lipetsk Oblast; technician of the Lipetsk plant for caterpillar tractors of the Lipetskiy traktornyy zavod production association.

DEMIN, Aleksandr Borisovich—USSR people's deputy from the Barabinskiy Territorial Electoral District, North Ossetian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]; chairman of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for International Affairs, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

DZASOKHOV, Aleksandr Sergeyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Territorial Electoral District, North Ossetian ASSR; chairman of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for International Affairs, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

DOBROVOLSKAYA, Taisiya Nikolayevna—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; chairman of the trade union committee of the Kolkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin, Predgornyy Rayon, Stavropol Kray.

YEFEMOV, Aleksandr Grigoryevich—USSR people's deputy from the Shadrinskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kurgana Oblast; member of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Questions of Economic Reform.

KANIN, Vasiliy Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; leader of truck driver brigade of the Voronezh automotive combine.

KARAULOV, Aleksandr Olegovich—USSR people's deputy from the Tuapsinskiy Territorial Electoral District, Krasnodar Kray; physician of the Predgorye Kavkaza sanatorium, Goryachiy Klyuch.

KARLOV, Nikolay Vasilyevich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; rector of the Moscow Physics-Technical Institution.

KOZLOV, Aleksey Aleksandrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kirovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Novosibirsk Oblast; machine operator at the locomotive depot of the Inskaya station of the Western Siberian Railroad, Novosibirsk.

KOZLOV, Valter Viktorovich—USSR people's deputy from the Baumanskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow; department chief of the branch of the Central Institute of Aviation Engine Construction imeni P.I. Baranov, Moscow.

KRAYKO, Aleksandr Nikolayevich—USSR people's deputy from the Baumanskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow; department head at the Central Institute of Aircraft Engine Construction imeni P.I. Baranov, Moscow.

KRASILNIKOV, Yuriy Georgiyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Tatar ASSR; member of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Questions of the Development of Industry, Energy, Technical Equipment, and Technology.

KUZMIN, Aleksandr Nikolayevich—USSR people's deputy from the Kiroskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow; sector chief of the Central Scientific Research Institution of Automation and Hydraulics, Moscow.

KULIKOV, Fedor Mikhaylovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kamenskiy Territorial Electoral District, Penza Oblast; pensioner, Penza.

KUSTAREV, Nikolay Petrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; forge operator at the Nizhegorod automotive plant of the GAZ production association, Nizhniy Novgorod.

MASLIN, Vladimir Petrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Soviet Fund for Peace in conjunction with eight soviet committees speaking out for peace, solidarity, and international cooperation; first deputy chairman of the board of the Soviet Fund for Peace.

MATYUKHA, Vyacheslav Nikolayevich—USSR people's deputy from Tobolskiy Territorial Electoral District; leader of the comprehensive brigade of construction administration No. 36 of the Mamontoenefteprornstroy Trust, Nefteyugansk, Tyumen Oblast.

MINYAYEV, Valentin Fedorovich—USSR people's deputy from the Dmitrovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow Oblast; secretary of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Questions of Economic Reform.

OVCHINNIKOV, Vladimir Petrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Barnaulskiy Territorial Electoral District, Altay Kray; chief of the Altay aggregate plant.

ORLOV, Aleksandr Kondratyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Chelyabinsk Oblast; director of the Chelyabisnk branch of the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement imeni N.M. Shvernik.

OSOKINA, Olga Vyacheslavovna—USSR people's deputy from the All- Union Leninist Communist Youth League; engineer of the youth scientific and technical firm Ekspress, Tula.

PETROVA, Lyudmila Nikolayevna—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin; general director of the scientific production association Niva Stavropolya, Stavropol.

PONOMAREV, Vladimir Matveyevich—USSR people's deputy the USSR trade unions; fitter at the shop for monitoring and measurement instruments and automatic equipment of the production association Salavatnefteorgsintez, Bashkir ASSR.

POKHITAYLO, Yevgeniy Dmitriyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Tarsky Territorial Electoral District, Omsk Oblast; pensioner, Omsk.

RAZBIVNAYA, Galina Anatolyevha—USSR people's deputy from the women's councils united by the Committee of Soviet Women; director of the city Palace of Creativity for Children and Adolescents, Petrozavodsk, Karelian ASSR.

SAGAANDAY, Galina Sandakovna—USSR people's deputy from the women's councils united by the Committee of Soviet Women; head of a kindergarten in the village of Chaa-Khol, Ulug-Khemskiy Rayon, Tuva ASSR.

SEMENKO, Valentina Ivanovna—USSR people's deputy from the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin; chairman of the Ivanovo Oblast court.

SIMONOV, sergey Borisovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kalininskiy Territorial Electoral District, Bashkir ASSR; fitter-assembler of the Ufa engine construction production association.

SOKOLOV, Viktor Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Tikhvinskiy Territorial Electoral District, Leningrad Oblast; deputy head mechanic of the Transmash Plant of the Kirovskiy Zavod Production Association, Tikhvin.

TATARCHUK, Valentin Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; deputy chairman of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Questions of the Development of Industry, Energy, Technical Equipment, and Technology.

TYURINA, Tamara Vasilyevna—USSR people's deputy from the Saranskiy Territorial Electoral District, Mordovian ASSR; secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation.

FALK, Petr Petrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Buzulukskiy Territorial Electoral District, Orenburg Oblast; colonel, senior navigator of troop unit 22623.

FARGIYEV, Khamzat Akhmedovich—USSR people's deputy from the Sunzhenskiy Territorial Electoral District, Checheno-Ingush ASSR; teacher at secondary school No. 18, Malgobek.

FOMENKO, Galina Ivanovna—USSR people's deputy from the women's council united by the Committee of Soviet Women; instructor of the Chernykhov CPSU gorkom [city committee], Kaliningrad Oblast.

KHALILOV, Salikh Khalilovich—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor; senior teacher of the Dagestan Agricultural Institute, Makhachkala.

KHMEL, Valentina Petrovna—USSR people's deputy from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; brigade leader of construction and assembly administration of the Angar construction administration, Irkutsk Oblast.

KHOLAMKHANOVA, Nazifa Khakimovna—USSR people's deputy from the Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR; cutter of the Dom mody atelier of the Nalchikgorshveytrikotazhbyt association.

KHOMENYUK, Aleksey Pavlovich—USSR people's deputy from the Zaozernovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Krasnoyarsk Kray; leader of the leasing collective of intensive labor of the 50 let KPSS experimental farm, Uyarskiy Rayon.

TSYGANOV, Viktor Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; chairman of the Tver Oblast trade union council.

TSYRENOV, Zhargal Tsydenzhapovich—USSR people's deputy from the Selenginskiy Territorial Electoral District, Buryat ASSR; machine operator of the Bichurskiy sovkhoz, Bicurskiy Rayon.

CHIZHOV, Anatoliy Alekseyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Kirovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kuybyshev Oblast; director of the Progress Plant, Kuybyshev.

CHUKHRAYEV, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich—USSR people's deputy from the Zheleznogorskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kursk Oblast; head physicial of the oblast clinical hospital No. 1, Kursk.

SHAPULIN, Nikolay Petrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Stavropolskiy Territorial Electoral District, Stavropol Kray; leader of a brigade of electric welders of the Stavropol automotive trailer plant of the Kama association for producing large trucks.

SHEVLYUGA, Vladimir Yakovlevich—USSR people's deputy from the Proletarskiy Territorial Electoral District, Rostov Oblast; form specialist of the Rostselmash plant, Rostov-on-Don.

SHELUKHIN, Yuriy Sergeyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Sazviyazhskiy Territorial Electoral District, Ulyanov Oblast; deputy head metallurgist of the Ulyanov machine tool building production association of heavy and unique machine tools.

SHUNDEYEV, Ivan Nikandrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kopeyskiy Territorial Electoral District, Chelyabinsk Oblast; director of Koyelginskiy Sovkhoz, Yetkulskiy Rayon.

UKRAINIAN SSR

AZAROV, Sergey Ignatyevich—USSR people's deputy from the All- Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor; specialist of the Vinnitsaenergo energy production association, Vinnitsa.

BOYKO, Aleksey Nikolayevich—USSR people's deputy from the Donetskiy-Voroshilovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Donetsk Oblast; member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Economic Reform.

BRATUN, Rostislav Andreyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Lvovskiy-Zaliznichnyy Territorial Electoral District, Lvov Oblast; writer, Lvov.

VERTEBNYY, Ivan Andreyevich—USSR people's deputy from the kolkhozes united by the Union Council of Kolkhozes; chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Gorkiy, Globinskiy Rayon, Poltava Oblast.

GRISHCHUK, Valeriy Pavlovich—USSR people's deputy from the Dneprovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kiev; member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Public Education and Upbringing.

GROMYAK, Roman Teodorovich—USSR people's deputy from the Ternopolskiy Territorial Electoral District, Ternopol Oblast; department head of the Ternopol State Pedagogical Institute imeni Ya. Galan.

DEMCHUK, Anna Demyanovna—USSR people's deputy from the USSR consumers' cooperation; deputy director for training and educational work of the Lukov secondary school, Turiyskiy Rayon, Volyn Oblast.

DIKUSAROV, Vladimir Grigoryevich—USSR people's deputy from the Volochisskiy Territorial Electoral District, Khmelnitsy Oblast; specialist of the State Agroindustrial Committee of the Ukrainian SSR.

KALISH, Vitaliy Nikolayevich—USSR people's deputy of he Communist Party of the Soviet Union; steel smelter of the electrical metallurgical plant Dneprospetsstal imeni A.N. Kuzmin, Zaporozhye.

KOLTSOV, Yuriy Arsenyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Kerchenskiy Territorial Electoral District, Crimea Oblast; colonel, Feodosiya.

LISITSKIY, Viktor Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Zavodskiy Territorial Electoral District, Nikolayev Oblast; deputy general director for economics of the production association Chernomorskiy sodostroitelnyy zavod, Nikolayev.

MASLIY, Mariya Dmitriyevna—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; equipment operator of the Kalush production association Khlorvinil, Ivano-Frankov Oblast.

PANCHENKO, Emiliya Andreyevna—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor; member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Affairs of Women and Protection of the Family, Maternity, and Childhood.

REZNIK, Aleksandr Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the kolkhozes united by the Union Council of Kolkhozes; chairman of the Mir Kolkhoz in Gayvoronskiy Rayon in Kirovograd Oblast.

SEMENOV, Vitaliy Aleksandrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Zhovtnevyy Territorial Electoral District, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast; senior scientific associate of the Institute of Technical Medicine of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, Dnepropetrovsk.

TERNYUK, Nikolay Emmanuilovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kharkovskiy-Ordzhonikidzevskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kharkov Oblast; deputy head technologist of the production association Zavod imeni Malyshev, Kharkov.

TIKHONENKOV, Ernst Petrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Simferopolskiy Territorial Electoral District, Crimea Oblast; member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Ecology and Efficient Utilization of Natural Resources.

TROKHIMETS, Mikhail Anatolyevich-USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League; machine operator of the Kolkhoz imeni 1 Maya, Rakitnyanskiy Rayon Kiev Oblast.

URVANT, Vadim Nikolayevich—USSR people's deputy from the Shepetovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Khmelnitsy Oblast; lieutenant colonel, senior instructor of propaganda and agitation of troop unit 03049, Kherson.

CHEREPOVETS, Vladimir Anatolyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Khersonskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kherson Oblast; secretary of the party committee of the Dneprov Era Enterprise, Kherson.

YASTREBTSOV, Sergey Vyacheslavovich—USSR people's deputy from the Uzmailskiy Territorial Electoral District, Odessa Oblast; captain, deputy battalion commander of toop unit 11389, Bolgrad.

BELORUSSIAN SSR

VORONEZHTSEV, Yuriy Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Gomelskiy Territorial Electoral District, Gomel Oblast; member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Ecology and Efficient Utilization of Natural Resources.

UZBEK SSR

ARIPDZHANOV, Makhmut Marinovich—USSR people's deputy from the Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Andizhan Oblast; deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Uzbek SSR.

AKHMEDOV, Rakhmatullo—USSR people's deputy from the Fergana Territorial Electoral District, Fergana Oblast; director of the bread products combine, Kuva.

KAYUMOVA, Tozhinor Isakhanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Bulungurskiy Territorial Electoral District; member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Public Education and Upbringing.

SHERALIYEV, Abdurazak—USSR people's deputy from the Chartakskiy Territorial Electoral District, Namangan Oblast; teacher at secondary school No. 11, Narynskiy Rayon.

SHKANAKIN, Vladimir Gennadyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Tashkentskiy-Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Tashkent Oblast; lieutenant general, commander of troop unit 61800, Tashkent.

KAZAKH SSR

ARYSTANBAYEV, Sagin Tileshovich—USSR people's deputy from he Yesilskiy Territorial Electoral District, Tselinograd Oblast; truck driver of the Yesilskiy automotive transportation expediting enterprise, Turgay Oblast.

YERALIYEV, Tokhtar—USSR people's deputy from the USSR Union of Architects; architect, chairman of the board of the Union of Architects of Kazakhstan.

MEZENTSEV, Aleksandr Moiseyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Alma-Atinskiy-Oktyabrskiy Territorial Electoral District; driver of the Alma-Ata bus fleet No. 1.

PAYZIYEV, Duysenbay—USSR people's deputy from the Turkenstanskiy Territorial Electoral District, Chimkent Oblast; underground tunneler of mine tunneling unit No. 1 of the Mirgalimsay mine of the Achpolimetal Combine, Kentau.

TEMIRBAYEV, Valeriy Batayevich—USSR people's deputy from the Lengerskiy Territorial Electoral District, Chimkent Oblast; permanent representative of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers under the USSR Council of Ministers.

GEORGIAN SSR

BATIASHVILI, Stanislav Andreyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Gurdzhaamslou Territorial Electoral District, Georgian SSR; worker at the Lagodekhskiy machine building plant.

BOKUCHAVA, Natella Terentyeva—USSR people's deputy from the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in conjunction with the Soviet Association of pedagogical researchers; director of secondary school No. 4, Sukhumi, Abkhazian ASSR.

METONIDZE, Gurami Archilovich—USSR people's deputy from the Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Georgian SSR; leader of comprehensive brigade of electrical assembly workers of the Elektkrovozostroitel production association, Tbilisi.

AZERBAIJAN SSR

BASHIROVA, Lala Mir Gasan kyzy—USSR people's deputy from the Bakinskiy-Narimanovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Azerbaijan SSR; laboratory assistant of the Novo-Bakinskiy Oil Refinery imeni Vladimir Ilich, Baku.

VEZIROVA, Sara Mustafa kyzy—USSR people's deputy from Bakinskiy-Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Azerbaijan SSR; operator at the Petroleum and Gas Extraction Administration imeni Serebrovskiy, Baku.

KULIYEV, Adil Guseynovich—USSR people's deputy from the All- Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor; deputy division chief of the Azerbaijani Trade Union, Baku.

MAMEDOV, Etibar Pasha ogly—USSR people's deputy from the All- Union Lenin Communist Youth League; assistant driller of the maritime administration for exploratory drilling and specialized technical means of the Kaspmorneftegaz production association, Baku.

MOLDOVA SSR

MELNIK, Konstantin Alekseyevich—USSR people's deputy from USSR consumer cooperation; chairman of the board of the SSR Moldova trade union, Kishinev.

LATVIAN SSR GRINOVSKIS, Ervid Yanovich—
USSR people's deputy from the Yelgavskiy Territorial
Electoral District, Latvian SSR; member of the USSR
Supreme Soviet Committee on Agrarian Questions and
Food.

KIRGHIZ SSR

SMAILOVA, Kaken—USSR people's deputy from the Narynskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kirghiz SSR; division head of the Issyk-Kul Oblast Hospital No. 1, Dnaryn.

TAJIK SSR

BOBADZHANOV, Mirzo—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor; chairman of the Tajik Republic Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces.

DUSMATOV, Abdubako—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; chairman of the trade union committee of the Isfarinskiy chemical plant, Leninabad Oblast; member of the Commission of the Soviet of the Union for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy.

ARMENIAN SSR

ARTYUNYAN, Martin Karapetovich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; chairman of the Armenian Republic Trade Union Council.

TURKMEN SSR

GUMMYYEV, Otuz—USSR people's deputy from the Tashauzskiy Territorial Electoral District, Tyumen SSR; brigade leader of the Sovet Turkmenistany Sovkhoz, Oktyabrskiy Rayon, Tashauz Oblast.

ORAZLIYEV, Meretgeldy—USSR people's deputy from the Ashkhabadskiy Territorial Electoral District, Turkmen SSR; leader of brigade of painters of the specialized administration for minor mechanization of finishing work of the Turkmentsentrostroy construction administration, Ashkhabad.

Soviet of Nationalitie

RSFSR

BASKOVA, Valentina Aleksandrovna—USSR people's deputy from the women's councils united by the Committee of Soviet Women; milkmaid of the Molochnoye state breeding farm, Vologda.

DEMAKOV, Nikolay Andreyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Novosibirskiy National Territorial Electoral District; pilot- instructor of the flight detachment of the Novosibirsk combined aviation detachment, Novosibirsk.

KISELEV, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Smolenskiy National Territorial Electoral District; chairman of the 45 let Oktyabrya Kolkhoz in Yukhnovskiy Rayon in Kaluga Oblast.

NIKOLAYEV, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Smolenskiy National Territorial Electoral District; chairman of the 45 let Oktyabrya Sovkhoz, Yukhnovskiy Rayon, Kaluga Oblast.

UKRAINIAN SSR

PALTYSHEV, Nikolay Nikolayevich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in conjunction with the Soviet association of pedagogical researchers; instructor at secondary vocational and technical school No. 1, Odessa.

SEVRYUKOV, Vladimir Vasilyevich—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League; chief of service of ship repair plants of the Black Sea Steamship Line, Odessa.

BELORUSSIAN SSR

LEMESHEVA, Natalya Vasilyevna—USSR people's deputy from the women's councils united by the Committee of Soviet Women; chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, Vitebsk Oblast.

LESKIN, Demyan Timofeyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Minsk-Tsentralnyy National Territorial Electoral District; aircraft commander of the Minsk flight detachment of the Belorussian Civil Aviation Administration, Minsk.

CHERNYSHEV, Oleg Viktorovich—USSR people's deputy from the Union of USSR Designers; deputy chairman of the Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities for Questions of Development of Culture, Language, National and International Traditions, and Protection of the Historical Legacy.

UZBEK SSR

AMANOV, Tulkin—USSR people's deputy from the Karshinskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Kashkadarin Oblast; chief of the Shurtangaz gas industry administration of the Soyuzuzbekgazprom Association, Beshket.

IRGASHEV, Akram Kurbanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Tashkentskiy-Oktyabrskiy National Territorial Electoral District; manager of the Uzbekgidroenergostroy Trust, Tashkent.

SAYDAKHMEDOV, Isakzhan Mamadzhanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Samarkandskiy National Territorial Electoral District; commander of the Samarkand united aviation detachment.

UMARKHODZHAYEV, Mukhtar Ishanokhodzhayevich—USSR people's deputy from the Andizhanskiy National Territorial Electoral District; rector of the Andizhan State Pedagogical Institute of Languages.

KHUSANOV, Abduzhabbar Ulmasovich—USSR people's deputy from the Ferganskiy National Territorial Electoral District; deputy editor of the oblast newspaper KOMMUNA, Fergana.

KAZAKH SSR

BASHMAKOV, Yevgeniy Fedorovich—USSR people's deputy from the Uralskin National Territorial Electoral District, Alma-Ata; pensioner, Alma-Ata.

GUKASOV, Erik Khristoforovich—USSR people's deputy from the Saryagachskiy National Territorial Electoral District; first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

DYUSEMBAYEV, Bakhit—USSR people's deputy from the Zaysakskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Vkostochno-Kazakhstan Oblast; mining master of the section for drilling and explosive work of the Tishinskiy Mine of the Leninogorsk polymetal combine, Leninogorsk.

ZHANYBEKOV, Shangerey Ahanybekovich—USSR people's deputy from from the All-Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor; chairman of the Kazakh Republic society for cultural ties with compatriots abroad, Alma-Ata.

KRYSHKIN, Anatoliy Makarovich—USSR people's deputy from the Alma-Atinskiy-Leninskiy National Territorial Electoral District; member of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Questions of Ecology and Efficient Utilization of Natural Resources.

GEORGIAN SSR

BERIKASHVILI, Vissarion Georgiyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Gurdzhaanskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Georgian SSR; tractor driver of the kolkhoz in the village of Chandara in Gurdzhaanskiy Rayon.

ORAGVELIDZE, Roiman Titevich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; fitter-assembler of the Tbilisi machine tool building production association.

CHIGVARIYA, Dzhemal Konstantinovich—USSR people's deputy from the Batumskiy National Territorial

Electoral District, Georgian SSR; chief of the Georgian maritime shipping line, Batumi.

SHILAYA, Yelena Georgiyevna—USSR people's deputy from the Tskhakayevskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Georgian SSR; teacher of Senaki secondary school No. 4, Senaki.

AZERBAIJAN SSR

AKHMEDOV, Oktay Ali olgy—USSR people's deputy from the Bakinskiy-Shaumyanovskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Azerbaijan SSR; deputy general director of the Radiostroyeniye production association, Baku.

BAGIROV, Tofik Guseyn olgy—USSR people's deputy from the Bakinskiy-Kirovskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Azerbaijan SSR; electric locomotive mechanic of the Baladzhary Locomotive Depot imeni A.A. Dzhafarov of the Azerbaijan Railroad, Baku.

MOLDOVA SSR

DUMBRAVAN, Mikhail Georgiyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Ryshkanskiy National Territorial Electoral District, SSR Moldova; chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, Ryshkanskiy Rayon.

LATVIAN SSR

VILTSANS, Andris Petrovich—USSR people's deputy from the All- Union Lenin Communist Youth League; member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs.

ZYZAN, Andrey Vilisovich—USSR people's deputy from the Ventspilsskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Latvian SSR; deputy permanent representative of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers under the USSR Council of Ministers.

KIRGHIZ SSR

IBRAIMOVA, Raisa Belekovna—USSR people's deputy from the Union of the USSR Societies of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, Kirghiz SSR.

MIRRAKHIMOV, Mirsaid Mirkhamidovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kara-Suyskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Kirghiz SSR; director of the Kirghiz Scientific Research Institute of Cardiology, Frunze.

MOLDOBAYEV, Alimbek Tologonovich—USSR people's deputy from the Lenin-Dzholskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Kirghiz SSR; senior shepherd of the Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marks in Leninskiy Rayon, Osh Oblast.

KUSENBEKOV, Kaliynur Usenbekovich—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor; chairman of the Kirghiz Republic Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces.

TAJIK SSR

DAVLYATOV, Sergey Ikromovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kumsangirskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tajik SSR; truck driver from automotive transportation enterprise No. 11 of the Kurgan-Tyubinskiy production automotive transportation association.

DZHUNAYDOV, Ismat—USSR people's deputy from the Kommunisticheskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tajik SSR; head agronomist of the Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marks in Kommunisticheskiy Rayon in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast.

KARYAGIN, Vladimir Yakovlevich—USSR people's deputy from the Kolkhozabadskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tajik SSR; director of secondary school No. 1 of the urban type village of Kolkhozabad, Kurgan-Tyube Oblast.

TIKHONOV, Georgiy Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Rogunskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tajik SSR; head of the department for capital construction and reconstruction of the bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers for the fuel and energy complex.

YAKUBOV, Valeriy Azizovich—USSR people's deputy from the Dushanbinskiy-Frunzenskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tajik SSR; first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Dushanbe city soviet of people's deputies.

ARMENIAN SSR

LOBOV, Oleg Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the imeni Kamo National Territorial Electoral District, Armenian SSR; CPSU Central Committee.

MINASBEKYAN, Mikhail Sergeyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Yerevanskiy-Ordzhonikidzevskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Armenian SSR; deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for National Questions.

MIRZOYAN, Edvard Mikhaylovich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR Union of Composers; chairman of the board of the Armenian SSR Union of Composers.

USYAN, Samvel Vazgenovicy—USSR people's deputy from the Yerevanskiy-Promyshlennyy National Territorial Electoral District, Armenian SSR; fitter of control and measurement instruments and automation of the Nairit scientific production association, Yerevan.

TURKMEN SSR

MOLLANIYAZOV, Kurbanmamed—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; master of the Nebitdagneft petroleum and gas extraction administration of the Turkmenneft production association, Nebit-Dag.

ORAZMURADOVA, Orazgul Mukhiyevna—USSR people's deputy from the Kaakhkinskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Turkmen SSR; pediatrician of the Serakhskiy Rayon Central Hospital, Ashkhabad Oblast.

ORAZOV, Kurban Muradovich—USSR people's deputy from the Sakar-Chaginskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Turkmen SSR; chairman of the Mary Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies; first secretary of the Mary Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan.

YAGMIROV, Govshut—USSR people's deputy from the Chardzhou Rural National Territorial Electoral District, Turkmen SSR; brigade leader of the Kolkhoz imeni Engels of the Sayatskiy Rayon in Chardzhou Oblast.

ABKHAZ ASSR

KOBALIA, Larisa Nodariyevna—USSR people's deputy from the Galskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Abkhaz ASSR; department head at Tbilisi State University.

ADZHAR ASSR

SHAMILADZE, Vakhtang Mamiyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Batumskiy-Leonidze National Territorial Electoral District, Adzhar ASSR; department head at Tbilisi State University.

EMIRIDZE, Gurami Khuseynovich—USSR people's deputy from the Khelvachaurskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Adzhar ASSR; first deputy minister of housing and municipal and consumer services, Georgian SSR.

BASHKIR ASSR

MALIKOVA, Liliya Avkhadiyevna—USSR people's deputy from the USSR consumers' cooperative; director of the public catering association of the Yanulskiy Rayon consumers' union, Bashkir ASSR.

YASHIN, Sergey Aleksandrovich—USSR people's deputy from the Oktyabrskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Bashkir ASSR; electric welder in the administration for mechanized work of the Shkapovneftestroy trust, Belebey, Bashkir ASSR.

BURYAT ASSR

AKSENOV, Vyacheslav Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Barguzinzskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Buryat ASSR; brigade leader of the construction and assembly column No. 608 of the Nizhneangarsktransstroy Trust, Severo-Bayukalskiy Rayon.

SEREDKIN, Vladimir Stepanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kabanskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Buryat ASSR; director of the Klyuyevskaya timber processing base, Kabanskiy Rayon.

DAGESTAN ASSR

MAGOMEDOV, Sapiyula Aliyevich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; carpenter-concrete worker of the Promgrazhdanstroy construction administration of the administration for construction of Chirkeygesstroy, Kizilyurtovskiy Rayon.

KABARDINO-BALKAR ASSR

VINDIZHEV, Arsen Khasanbiyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Baksanskiy National Territorial Electoral District; machine operator of the Krasnaya Kabarda Kolkhoz, Baksanskiy Rayon.

DADOV, Khamita Aubekirovich—USSR people's deputy from the Terskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR; machine operator of the Zarya kommunizma Kolkhoz, Terskiy Rayon.

ZAKHAROVA, Galina Ivanovna—USSR people's deputy from the Prokhladnenskiy City National Territorial Electoral District, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR; tester at the Prokhladnyy plant for semiconductor instruments.

KALMYK ASSR

BIMBAYEV, Vyacheslav Matsakovich—USSR people's deputy from the Tselinnyy National Territorial Electoral District, Kalmyk ASSR; deputy chief of the Kamselkhozvodoprovodstroy planning and construction administration, Elista.

SAMAYEV, Petr Lidzhiyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Elistinskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Kalmyk ASSR; deputy chief of the housing construction combine of the Kalmstroy production construction-assembly association, Elista.

KARAKALPAK ASSR

TAZHIMURATOVA, Aksulyu—USSR people's deputy from the Nukusskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Karakalpak ASSR; deputy director of the Bolshevik Sovkhoz, Sortavala.

KARELIAN ASSR

YUDOV, Aleksandr Yevgenyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Sortavalskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Karelian ASSR; deputy director of the Bolshevik Sovkhoz, Sortavala.

KOMI ASSR

KUROCHKA, Grigoriy Mikhaylovich—USSR people's deputy from the Vorkutinskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Komi ASSR; chairman of the permanent session of the Komi ASSR Supreme Court.

MARY ASSR

POLIKARPOV, Nikolay Platonovich—USSR people's deputy from the Morkinskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Mary ASSR; chief of the timber point of the Zelenogorsk timber combine, Morkinskiy Rayon.

MORDOVIAN ASSR

DOLGANOV, Aleksandr Vasilyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Romodanovskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Mordovian ASSR; director of the Rossiya state breeding farm, Lyambirskiy Rayon.

OSIPOV, Anatoliy Konstantinovich—USSR people's deputy from the Leninskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Mordovian ASSR; secretary of the party committee of the Mordovian State University imeni N.P. Ogarev.

FEDYASHIN, Viktor Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kovylkinsky National Territorial Electoral District, Mordovian ASSR; chairman of the council of the republic cooperative-state association Mordovagropromstroy, Saransk.

NORTH OSSETIAN ASSR

ABOYEV, Aleksandr Safarbekovich—USSR people's deputy from the Alagirskiy National Territorial Electoral District, North Ossetian ASSR, division chief of the Alagirskiy central rayon hospital.

BICHENOV, Roland Romanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Kirovskiy National Territorial Electoral District, North Ossetian ASSR; head zootechnician of Kavkaz Kolkhoz in Kirovskiy Rayon.

GAGLOYEV, Alan Sardmonovich—USSR people's deputy from the All- Union Lenin Communist Youth League, engineer at a fur and timber farm, Prigorodnyy Rayon.

PRONIN, Gennadiy Viktorovich—USSR people's deputy from the Promyshlennyy National Territorial Electoral District, North Ossetian ASSR; fitter at the Pobedit Plant imeni 50-letiye SSSR, Vladikavkaz.

TATAR ASSR

MASUROV, Rafis Khamzeyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Zainskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tatar ASSR; drilling foreman of the Aznakayevskoy administration for drilling work of the Tatneft association.

SAVINOVA, Yevgeniya Isidorovna—USSR people's deputy from the Chistopolskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tatar ASSR; physician at the line hospital for water transport workers, Chistopol.

SAFIULLIN, Mars Giniyatovich—USSR people's deputy from the USSR trade unions; metal caster of the Kazan engine construction association.

TUVA ASSR

DONDUP, Mariy-ool Vasilyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Ovyurskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tuva ASSR; director of the Sagdynskaya Secondary School imeni 50-letiye Oktyabrya, Ovyurskiy Rayon.

UDMURT ASSR

NOVIKOV, Grigoriy Fedorovich—USSR people's deputy from the Votkinskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Udmurt ASSR; sector chief of the production association for radiotechnological fittings, Votkinsk.

CHECHENO-INGUSH ASSR

SUKHININ, Vladimir Yuryevich—USSR people's deputy from the Oktyabrskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Checheno-Ingush ASSR; machine operator of the Groznyy electric locomotive depot of the Caucasian Railroad.

CHUVASH ASSR

SETKIN, Yuriy Borisovich—USSR people's deputy from the Leninsky National Territorial Electoral District, Chuvash ASSR; parachute training team commander of the Cheboksary DOSAAF aviation sports club.

YAKUT ASSR

YAKOVLEV, Makar Makarovich—USSR people's deputy from the Yakut rural National Territorial Electoral District, Yakut ASSR, investigation unit chief of the Yakut ASSR Procuracy.

ADYGE AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

DZHIMOV, Magamet Shumafovich—USSR people's deputy from the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League; machine operator of the Kolkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon in Krasnodar Kray.

GORNO-ALTAY AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

PLETENETSKIY, Dmitriy Yefimovich—USSR people's deputy from the Mayminskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast; director of the Paspaulskiy Sovkhoz in Choyskiy Rayon.

GORNO-BADAKHSHAN AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

RADZHABOV, Rakhmon Radzhbovich—USSR people's deputy from the Vanchskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast; head physician of the Vanchdskiy central rayon hospital.

JEWISH AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

MILYUTIN, Aleksandr Stepanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Obluchenskiy Rural National Territorial Electoral District, Jewish Autonomous Oblast; head engineer of the Teploozerskiy Cement Plant, Obluchenskiy Rayon.

SHKOLNIK, Leonid Borisovich—USSR people's deputy from the Birobidzhanskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Jewish Autonomous Oblast; NOVOSTI correspondent for the Jewish Autonomous Oblast.

KARACHAYEVO-CHERKESS AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

KEMOVA, Tamara Nikolayevna—USSR people's deputy from the Cherkesskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Karachayevo- Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; maid at the Cherkesskiy plant for industrial rubber items.

KIMKETOV, Psabida Davletovich—USSR people's deputy from the Ust-Dzhegutinskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Karachayevo-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; brigade leader of the Yuzhnyy Sovkhoz-Combine in Ust-Dzhegutinskiy Rayon.

NAGORNO-KARABAKH AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

GRIGORYAN, Vachagan Santurovich—USSR people's deputy from the Martuninskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; chief of production administration of the Main Production Economic Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Stepanakert.

KHAKASS AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

AMZARAKOV, Vladimir Grigoryevich—USSR people's deputy from the Askizskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Khakass Autonomous Oblast; engineer for operating the machine and tractor fleet of the Sovkhoz imeni M.I. Kalinin, Askizskiy Rayon.

TSYKALO, Rostislav Ivanovich—USSR people's deputy from the Sayanogorsk National Territorial Electoral District; carpenter- concrete worker of the Krasnoyarskgesstroy construction administration, Sayanogorsk.

SOUTH OSSETIAN AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

CHEKHOYEV, Anatoliy Georgiyevich—USSR people's deputy from the Tskhinvalskiy City National Territorial Electoral District, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast; member of the Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities for National Policy and Interethnic Relations.

[Signed] **Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet A. LUKYANOV**
Moscow, the Kremlin, 27 December 1990

Economic

Arbatov on Problems of Market Transition

PM1401130091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by USSR People's Deputy academician G. Arbatov under the rubric "Polemics, Positions, Prognoses": "Unless We Master the Science of Competent Economic Management and Put the Economy on a Peace Footing... Not Even the Market Will Save Us"]

[Text] Obviously, I am not the only participant in the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies who left with a feeling of dissatisfaction. None of the discussions there contained a sufficiently solid analysis of economic problems, a foundation for ways out of the current crisis, or a solution to the approaching catastrophe.

Of course, several reasons for the difficulties were pinpointed at the congress: "the war of sovereignties," "the war of laws," and the collapse of traditional economic links. These are very real reasons, but more often than not they are the secondary consequences of either the breakdown of economic management from the center ("save yourself through your own efforts") or complete financial disorganization. The absence of a market and the excessively slow pace of progress toward it were also highlighted. I am in total agreement as far as pace is concerned, but not even the market is a panacea. The world economic crisis of 1929-1932, the most catastrophic in capitalist history, ravaged countries with purely market, I would even say virginally market, economies. And today, among those countries with a market economy, some are prospering, others are living "from hand to mouth," and others exist in a state of poverty.

Something other than the market is needed—a sensible economic policy, a well thought-out strategy, and skillful management of the country's economy. Here, in my opinion, is where we must look for one of the fundamental reasons for the economic crisis that has befallen our country. To be completely honest and frank, we have experienced a total breakdown of economic management on the part of the Union government comparable to that of troop management during the first months of the Great Patriotic War.

To come to grips with the situation, complete glasnost is required. The public and parliament, not to mention specialists, must have information on where the wealth produced in and exported from the republics goes, how much money is printed, how much grain, meat, milk and other produce is in fact lost, and how hard currency is earned and spent. Without such information, it is impossible to prepare a cohesive plan for getting out of the crisis. Without it, you cannot establish normal mutual links between the republics and also between the republics and the center. Therefore, there will be no Union. And consequently no "single economic space," no all-Union market.

Today, the most important task for revitalizing the economy and getting out of the crisis involves radically improving economic management and the system for making decisions. A second task of similar significance and stature is to demilitarize the economy.

Without this, no market mechanism will help us. Not even the American economy, two to three times more powerful than ours, can maintain the pace of military rivalry set by the Cold War.

We all sense this, although secrecy forbids us from revealing the whole picture. We only receive snippets of information. Like when Ye. Ligachev once said that 40 percent of machine-building output is used for defense purposes. Another source told us that in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] the defense sectors' share of industrial output is closer to 50 percent. We know from official information that between 35 and 40 percent of the Union budget is spent on defense. As M.S. Gorbachev announced, these expenses devour 18 percent of the gross national income.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Economics and Forecasting Scientific and Technical Progress carried out a comparative analysis and calculated that one Soviet ruble spent on purchasing civilian goods corresponds to approximately $0.5. But one "military" ruble used to purchase weapons and military hardware is between six and nine times "weightier" than the civilian ruble. It turns out that the 30 billion rubles [R] spent on buying weapons in 1990 are equal to some completely fantastic amount (I will not attempt an estimation—everything depends on the exchange rate) spent on buying nonmilitary articles and equipment. For 1991, however, R40 billion have been requested to purchase weapons. Try to appreciate the true value of this sum. In doing this, bear in mind that according to preliminary calculations only R4.6 billion are expected to be allocated to national education, and just R2.9 billion to the health service.

Admittedly, in the course of the last five-year period we began to reduce defense expenditure. At the beginning, as I recall, this was done in relation to the planned significant rise, but 1990 also saw an absolute drop, when expenses fell from R77 to R71 billion. For 1991, however, the Council of Ministers has requested almost 100 billion for military expenditure. As defenders of this figure seek to prove, it is nevertheless a question of reducing rather than increasing expenditure. They assert that 98 billion is the equivalent of just 66 billion when you consider the anticipated rise in wholesale prices. But specialists have already expressed doubts about these calculations, saying that wholesale prices will rise in 1991 by 43-45 percent, while expenditure on arms purchases, military construction, and military scientific research will rise by 70-75 percent.

For my part, I would like to add that the atmosphere in the world permits us not merely to freeze but to radically reduce military expenditure. Indeed, the economic situation in the country urgently demands this. You could understand it if expenditure was temporarily increased in 1991, and even over the following one or two years, in an effort to significantly improve servicemen's living standards and conditions, to provide housing, or to retrain officers and warrant officers who are being demobilized. But judging by the government application to the Supreme Soviet, the main increase derives from something else altogether—the purchase of arms and the design of new types of weapon.

So what is it all about and why is this happening?

Of course, it is not from any lack of sincerity on our part—it is not that we are speaking words of peace and disarmament while in fact conducting the opposite policy. I am firmly convinced that the issue lies elsewhere. The reduction of armed forces and the conversion of the defense industry have become not so much a military and political as a social problem, jeopardizing in this overmilitarized society of ours the interests of hundreds of thousands—even millions—of servicemen, defense industry workers, and defense scientists. In the last few years, military and military industrial departments, like the Council of Ministers as a whole, have been unable (I don't want to imply that they have been unwilling) to resolve the social and economic problems in reducing and restationing the army and the reduction in arms production and military expenditure. Even though against a background of foreign policy successes and economic failures the inevitability of both these events could have been foreseen at least two, if not three, years ago.

So something unnatural happened—the strengthening of peace and the opportunity to spend significantly less on war and security guarantees resulted in complex social problems for many Soviet people. Their natural dissatisfaction and concerns were exploited by opponents of perestroyka and the new Soviet foreign policy to turn the development of events around. Recently, as we can see, they have mobilized their forces and tried to blacken and politically discredit anybody who mentions shortcomings and excesses in military affairs. (Only yesterday, I was convinced of this yet again—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA tried to count me among the leaders of the "destructive forces," arbitrarily accusing me of antiarmy activities. They also credited me, maybe by mistake, with a statistics chart that I had nothing to do with—it was simply printed next to one of my articles in a Canadian newspaper).

But certain champions of militarism have even opted for the path of open blackmail. They blackmail our parliament, political figures, and even the president himself.

Attempts to revive fears of the foreign threat and to restore the "image of the enemy" justifying the preservation of militarism and a move to the right in domestic affairs, constitute the main ingredients of a revanchist policy. I am writing about this with a feeling of great concern. Perestroyka is in danger. Democratization, humane socialism, and the well-being of the people are totally incompatible with militarism. The task of demilitarizing our life, our policy, and last but not least our economy is more relevant than ever. If we do not solve this problem, perestroyka and the reforms will be suffocated, and the collapse of the state and society will become inevitable.

Delays in Concluding 1991 Contracts Criticized

PM1501101191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by V. Romanyuk: "Last Year's Mistakes Are Lessons For This Year"]

[Text] Commenting on the results of the year, V. Tolkushkin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, called not only for the bitter lessons to be learned but for something positive to be drawn from what we have been through. Let's compare the following figures. As a whole three percent less production and technical output was produced during the year, while four percent more consumer goods were produced than last year. This reflects the restructuring of our industrial production.

At the same time there has been no substantial improvement in the light and food industries. Incidentally, this has also been affected by the slowdown in the development of basic industrial sectors. It has not proved possible to use economic technologies to supplement commodity resources—programs for resource-saving have simply failed. The conversion of the defense sectors that is now under way has affected statistical reports. Nowadays the "defense sector" produces most cultural and consumer goods by volume, but the restructuring of military production facilities to manufacture civilian output is making efficiency indicators look worse, albeit temporarily. December saw declines even in such seemingly stable areas as the production of domestic refrigerators, sewing machines, irons, compact cassettes, galvanic cells, batteries, stainless steel blades for safety razors, synthetic detergent, and others.

Most light industry enterprises did not reach the level of 1989. The decline was three percent in cottons and silks and four percent in woolens. The decline in December was seven percent in cottons, eight percent in woolens, and nine percent in silks. It was the same story with footwear, hosiery, and certain other articles.

December produced nothing special to grace the food shelves either. Last year's standard was only exceeded with regard to the production of meat from state resources and pasta products. The December decline was eight percent for whole-milk products, 10 percent for cheeses, 17 percent for edible fish products, and 23 percent for margarine.

As for 1991, the situation as regards individual complexes is as follows: Higher than average contracts have been concluded (according to figures as of 25 December 1990) in the metallurgical complex (81-82 percent), the chemical and timber complex (78-81 percent) and the fuel and energy complex (75-76 percent). The situation is considerably worse in the machine building and agroindustrial complexes.

What lies behind these figures? Shortcomings in economic activity and a protracted lack of clarity regarding the plan and budget situation. Apart from the known difficulties associated with the failure to set resource quotas—including imported resources—for enterprises at the right time we should also mention the disruption to shipments in the cooperative system within sectors. According to expert assessments, disruption to these shipments was the reason why 8-10 percent of metals enterprises along with 14 percent of chemical plants and 16-18 percent of machine building enterprises failed to complete contracts.

Here are a few facts. There are delays with the commissioning of capacities at the Cherepovets and Novyy Lipetsk metals combines, resulting in a failure to conclude contracts for the delivery of light-section rolled metal. The change in economic relations with East Europe has left 1.5 million tonnes of rolled metal "in midair." Pipe deliveries to gas production facilities are being hampered: In a number of cases enterprises are demanding supplies of short-supply consumer goods in return or, like "KamAZ" and "BelavtoMAZ," are declaring their intention to distribute their own output autonomously.

At the beginning of January 1991, A. Yanenko, head of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies Secretariat, sent the government a note regarding messages from people's deputies and citizens relating to certain questions of economic activity. A considerable proportion of this note concerned breaches of economic contracts. The writers call for more active use of the steps envisaged by the presidential decrees on the stabilization of economic ties and for steps to provide people with social protection against unemployment, etc.

The messages to the Congress make a broad range of most specific demands. The Khartsyzsk pipe plant production unit has stood idle for six months owing to a lack of high-pressure polyethylene. Production units producing rugs and the famous handkerchiefs in Lyubertsy and Pavlovskiy Posad respectively are threatened with closure owing to a shortage of dyes. The Kazan electrical plant—the main manufacturer of floor panels for housing—has only half its supply of components. The Baku petroleum equipment plant cannot under any circumstances renew its contracts with Russian and Kazakh enterprises. In 1990 the Kotovskaya artificial leather factory failed to obtain 1 million meters of raw fabrics. The Saratov commercial glass plant—the largest supplier of sheet glass—has put its consumers in a spot because it failed to receive the requisite components from the Crimea soda plant.

Examples of this kind can go on and on, but is it necessary? The point is that, despite the USSR president's decree on steps to avert the disorganization of production because of an unsatisfactory conclusion of economic contracts for 1991, many enterprises are still in no rush to conclude these contracts. To talk specifically about the republics: In the country as a whole the total value of contracts not concluded for the supply of production and technical output from union enterprises alone (as of 25 December 1990) amounted to almost 120 billion rubles [R], of which the Russian Federation accounted for R81 billion; the Ukraine—R14.3 billion; Belorussia—R4.7 billion; and Kazakhstan—2.7 billion. Contracts are being concluded at a slow pace in the Russian Federation: Yaroslavl Oblast (58 percent); Tyumen Oblast (65 percent); Moscow city (63 percent);

Ulyanovsk Oblast (54 percent), and Yakutia (23 percent). The best figures have been attained by union enterprises in Turkmenia (92 percent), Kazakhstan (67 percent), and the Ukraine (84 percent). At the same time union enterprises have considerably lagged behind in concluding contracts in Lithuania (25 percent) and Moldova (67 percent).

How is the process of concluding contracts going at the start of 1991? The USSR State Committee for Statistics still does not have overall figures at its disposal. A departmental anomaly has occurred: The committee was tasked with collecting and summarizing figures by 7 January. However, after receiving this task 7 January was declared a holiday in a number of republics. It is not that simple to reorganize the whole mechanism. A tremendous amount of time is wasted on coordination.

All the disorder of the contract campaign is compounded by the overall resources famine and the unsatisfactory state of our exports and imports. Some 5 million tonnes of freight for export has now piled up at the ports. This is mainly coal and scrap metal. Having obtained the right to trade on the world market the miners have made extensive use of it. But now anyone who feels the urge is rushing to send scrap metal abroad and so disrupting the plans for deliveries of scrap iron to their own metallurgical industry.

Enterprises in a number of sectors are wilfully reducing the state order's share and laying the stress on barter. Some 12 million tonnes less oil than planned will be received for processing in the first quarter: Petroleum workers are refusing to conclude contracts, so the corresponding quantity of fuel and lubricants will not be obtained. Despite the scant hard-currency receipts, it has suddenly come to light that we will be simply unable to manage without sizeable imports. So, automobiles cannot be produced without imported components, even though we got by without imports in this area even during the war years. The textile industry also needs imports of chemical fibers, dyes, etc. Technological free-loading is becoming simply ruinous for the country.

As for light industry's supply of its own raw materials and semimanufactures, the situation is still extremely vague. Since it has now been decided to leave the turnover tax entirely in the republics, regions geared to producing raw materials are raising the question of price hikes for their output, reasonably counting on a share of the profits from sales of their commodities. A number of enterprises are still sending cables to the government complaining about raw material producers who are asking exorbitant prices for their goods—10-12 times higher than last year's prices. Who is to pay for all this? It will most likely be the consumers who will be obliged to do so. Or else reasonable compromises must be found.

The government recently decided to supply consumer goods shops with resources as a priority, including resources from basic production. It is also important for work to be resumed at enterprises that were closed down for environmental reasons to improve the economic situation. Some 150 enterprises involved mainly in power generation, including nuclear power generation, oil refining, and the medical industry, have already resumed work. The results of the first week of January 1991 will show the effectiveness of the measures that have been taken.

Scientific

'Progress M-6' Cargo Spacecraft Launched 14 Jan

LD1401175391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1722 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 January (TASS)—In accordance with the program for further operation of the "Mir" research complex, the "Progress M-6" cargo spacecraft was launched in the Soviet Union at 1750 Moscow time today.

The craft was launched for the purpose of delivering expendable materials and various kinds of cargo to the "Mir" manned complex.

The "Progress M-6" craft was placed in an orbit with the following parameters:
—apogee - 224 km;
—perigee - 192 km;
—period of revolution - 88.4 minutes;
—inclination - 51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric information, the onboard systems of the automated cargo craft are operating normally.

Urals Town Contaminated by Radioactive Waste

PM1401155391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by A Tarasov: "Reportage with a Bias; Evacuation 40 Years Later"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk Oblast—A Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom] resolution has been approved. It provides for the evacuation of the inhabitants of the settlement of Ozernyy, Rezhevskiy Rayon, which is 70 km from the oblast center—it is yet another radiation disaster zone.

On my way to Ozernyy I took a look at the radiation monitoring report on homes in the settlement, drawn up by a team sent out by the oblast sanitary and epidemiological station. Here are a few entries: "25 West Street—ceiling around 1,000 microroentgens per hour; 8 West Street—800 microroentgens per hour in the stove"....

I entered this little house, all neat and tidy:

"Lady, do you know that your stove gives off 120 microroentgens per hour and the part of the fence near your neighbors' gate is giving off around 400?"

"They came from the city and gave my mother a dosimeter. They told her to hang it on a nail. A month later they collected it. But there has been no sign of them since..."

In my conversations with the villagers I established that most of them were not only ignorant of the changes that lay in store for them, but had no inkling of the nature and scale of the problem in their own homes. And that was despite the fact that it had been Ozernyy's lot to have radiation as a "neighbor" for as many as four decades—ever since construction began on the uranium-thorium ore enrichment combine alongside the settlement.

...The Rezhevskiy uranium deposits turned out to be poor, so in 1964 the nuclear people left, leaving thousands of cubic meters of raw material in "burial grounds." It was only a token burial—sprinkled with earth. Sprinkled indeed—the protective layer was barely one meter deep. There were towering piles of sand-clay refuse on the bank of the Ozernaya River—production waste, its high level of radioactivity due to the residual uranium and thorium.

The nuclear people upped and left, without even giving the inhabitants of Ozernyy a hint of the implications of their legacy. The villagers set about removing the abandoned sand-clay refuse—anyone building a brick house, plastering walls, building a sandpit for grandchildren. Construction organizations took the pesky sand away in trucks and put it on all the highways in the neighborhood. The radiation spread in patches.

In the late sixties the Sverdlovsk radio equipment plant, setting up a branch in the settlement, took over the empty premises of the former secret facility and the oblast sanitary and epidemiological station was allowed to monitor production.

"We appealed to the oblast leadership on several occasions," S. Treyger, a doctor at the oblast sanitary and epidemiological station radiation hygiene department, said. "But they merely made a note of our decontamination proposals."

Two years ago some unsuspecting construction workers uncovered one of the "burial grounds" while laying heating pipes. Ozernyy had begun the final act of a tragedy without ever suspecting it: Everyone was suddenly renting cottages for the summer, students from the Urals University "Vagant" detachment were building spacious brick houses in the settlement, and subsidiary farming was on the increase at the radio equipment plant.

V. Vyukova, head of the midwifery center:

"Recently I collected analyses of all the settlement's inhabitants. I was hoping that doctors would require them. But no doctors have come. Except for a stomatologist, who only agreed to do a stint here."

Conversations with the villagers revealed that R. Khuzin, chief physician at the Rezhevskaya sanitary and epidemiological station, did visit Ozernyy on several occasions, but an amazing silence accompanied the visits... One inevitably wonders whether the settlement's plight is due not so much to the nuclear people's irresponsibility and not so much to the oblast authorities' diktat and local authorities' incompetence as to a basic lack of respect for the villagers, condemning them to neglect and ignorance. After all, if Ozernyy had been just once told the truth about the burial places and the villagers had been taught how to take elementary precautions against the invisible calamity, would they have allowed their kids to create a beach on top of one of the "burial grounds," near the river, where the gamma radiation was calculated at 3,000 microroentgens per hour? Had the doctors seen the analyses of the settlement's inhabitants, would they be dismissing some of them now, at the mere mention of evacuation?

Talk about moving and people reply: We would not be able to find work; we have cushy jobs here, salaries. But they also complain about not being able to lay on a decent meal and about sick children. The ultimate in the statization of human beings. To keep quiet about the fact that the settlement has been enveloped in something that is probably rather worse than a ring of radon clouds above the "burial grounds" is to make a mockery of things human: doctors maiming the sick through their inaction, the sick sacrificing their own salvation and their children for the sake of "salaries."

So they finally remembered Ozernyy. As if the 40 silent years had never happened and the tragedy had occurred overnight, the settlement suddenly—the only word to describe it—started getting visits from commissions, the Rezh Soviet adopted a resolution, immediately followed by the Sverdlovsk Oblispolkom. We might stop there. But one thing is worrying: Rezh and Sverdlovsk intend to help Ozernyy in different ways. For example, Rezh deputies, attracted by the possibility of rectifying matters at a chemical plant where, owing to conversion, there is a dire shortage of manpower, the Rezh deputies plan to construct 450 apartments and 25 cottages for the villagers. A Sverdlovsk Oblispolkom resolution talks only of 336 apartments in the rayon center—to all appearance, it will be implemented, nonetheless.. A Rezh City Soviet decision envisages the construction of a kindergarten for children who have been moved out of Ozernyy, but this is not mentioned in the oblispolkom resolution.

There is no need to wonder why the Sverdlovsk people "forgot" about the kindergarten and 150 or so families of villagers. The reason is symptomatic. Judge for yourselves: The oblispolkom first calculated the cost of decontamination, involving the removal of radioactive waste from the settlement—and pretty expensive was the result. Evacuation, then. So they calculated what it would cost. Even more, apparently... A senior delegation went to Ozernyy, called a meeting of villagers, and tried to persuade them that there was no need to move.

What you have here is "market scales"—on one side the cost of the plans, on the other the value of the villagers' health.

The argument for those who stand behind the scales is that six-year-old Katya Kargina died in December in Ozernyy. Of leukemia.

...Just before I left I dropped in at the settlement soviet. I was closely followed by little Katyusha's mother, who had come to arrange for a death certificate for her daughter. I dared not approach her, so I went out onto the street. I was presented with a spectacle typical of the times: children from a boarding school for the mentally retarded—constructed on the grand scale in Ozernyy, with 150 places; incidentally there is no mention of its future in the oblispolkom resolution—were running in the direction of a "burial ground," all red faces, shouting something. They were running along a snow-covered road, through patches of radiation.

Military

'No Additional Troops' Said Sent to Baltics

91UM0252A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 91 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Defense Ministry Refutes"]

[Text] Regarding the widespread rumors about the imaginary decision of the Soviet Government to send additional troops to Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, the Ukraine, and the Baltics, the chief of the information administration of the USSR Ministry of Defense, Major General V. Manilov, told a TASS correspondent that "there simply was no such decision." This was the general's response to a statement on 8 January from White House Press Secretary M. Fitzwater concerning the "serious step on the path to escalation of tensions within the USSR."

In the general's words, the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Defense gave no instructions to send additional troops to these regions. To carry out the ukase of the USSR president of 1 December 1990 "On Certain Acts Regarding Questions of Defense Adopted in the Union Republics," and the instructions of the troop commanders of the corresponding military districts to render practical assistance to the military commissariats of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, the Ukraine, and the Baltics, subdivisions are being taken from troops stationed in these districts. They render assistance in drafting youth into the Armed Forces and also in organizing the search and return of troops who have deserted military units. Several airborne subdivisions were enlisted in Lithuania just to support the draft.

So the statement from the representative of the White House regarding the introduction of Soviet troops in these regions is not in line with the facts, the chief of the information administration said in conclusion.

Incentives Considered for Volunteers to Hot Spots

91UM0252C Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General I. Matveyev, chief of the Administration of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Services, by V. Badurkin; place and date not given: "Volunteers, One Step Forward!"]

[Text] **The decisions of the USSR Ministry of Defense concerning voluntary staffing of units of the Transcaucasian Military District and the ships of the Caspian Flotilla evoked many questions from our readers. We asked Lieutenant General I. Matveyev, chief of the Administration of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, to answer some of them.**

[Matveyev] Recently certain republic legislatures, taking into account the demands of society and the committees of soldiers' mothers, have decided not to send their draftees to serve in this "hot" region. But still, someone has to serve there. Further increasing the number of boys from the Transcaucasus in the units of the district could turn them into national armed formations. It would not be hard to imagine what this could mean.

[Badurkin] Ivan Vasilyevich, the mothers of the present draftees are bothered most of all...

[Matveyev] This apparently requires an explanation. The draftees who expressed a wish to serve in the Transcaucasus (and there were many of them) must first acquire a military specialty in the training subdivisions of the Transcaucasian Military District and the Caspian Flotilla. Volunteers who have served for no less than five months are being sent from military units of other districts.

[Badurkin] But what if the soldiers' wives object?

[Matveyev] We are sending no married people there at all. Of course, this does not pertain to officers, warrant officers, and men who have reenlisted—they are professionals and must serve wherever they are ordered.

[Badurkin] To what extent did this measure help to solve the problem?

[Matveyev] Many people now think that our youth are too rational and will not risk their lives "for nothing." The results of an experiment we conducted show something else. As of today we have managed to satisfy 42 percent of the needs of the district and flotilla for personnel with volunteers. And they were promised no "great fortunes." Of course, we understand that this does not solve the problem completely. Measures will also be needed at the level of the government and the president, including measures of a material nature. Therefore the Ministry of Defense has developed proposals, particularly for increasing the pay for volunteers and offering them additional leave. It is suggested that officers and warrant officers who are sent to this district be given the right to reserved housing in other regions, a beneficial procedure for calculating their length of service, and a number of other benefits. But this is the government's prerogative...

[Badurkin] As we were told in the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the proposals of the Ministry of Defense are being considered. They are earmarking the funds and the possibilities of making a final decision.

Baltic Republics

Lithuania

Landsbergis Speaks on USSR Coup Possibility

LD1401144891 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1306 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Statement on the possibility of a state coup by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Dear colleagues, deputies, and all who hear me, a picture is emerging ever more clearly of major events that greatly overshadow Lithuania's fate today. It is very possible that what is happening in Lithuania is the beginning of a coup in the Soviet Union if it becomes obvious that the highest military leaders are no longer subordinate to President Gorbachev. Indeed, we would know about it very soon. The other possibility is that the highest military leaders wanted to do a favor—and they are doing it—for their ally, Saddam Husayn.

I have spoken about this abroad; I have spoken about it to the people of Lithuania, warning that if not only in Vilnius but also in other cities of Lithuania military equipment and movements of the military openly carrying weapons become apparent, any contact should be avoided because they can regard the slightest pretext as enmity, confrontation, attack. They maliciously assert that they are in danger and they defend themselves. They may open fire. The whole means of resistance and this struggle must be carried out by the state only, not chaotically and not spontaneously. We thus prove that we are a state. I have asked the people to do this. I inform you about it, esteemed deputies. I wish that you in your contacts with people in Vilnius or in other places will think the same way.

Various reports are coming in from the world. Some of them have a new or more important political content. I can quote and comment on two reports concerning the official position of France. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas has pointed out that the demand of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are legitimate, and he announced that President Mitterrand is keeping in contact with President Gorbachev about events in Lithuania. The French Government, as before, is asking the Soviet Government to solve the Baltic problem only on the basis of peaceful negotiations and on the Paris Charter, which the Soviet Union signed last November and which it is violating by behaving as it does now.

A telex from France has arrived at the Latvian Foreign Ministry—I do not know whether we received it—but it concerns our neighbors. Probably there is a desire to render more support not only to Lithuania, which was demonstrated earlier during Mrs. Prunskiene's and my visit, a desire to show more support to Latvia and Estonia because it is said there that the visit by the Latvian Supreme Council Chairman, Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis in the nearest future will bear results.

I would like to add that our health minister, Jonas Oleka, who together with medical workers should be allowed to enter both occupied and seized buildings, the Television and Radio Center and the tower—I reported to you after my conversation with President Gorbachev that he himself would give the orders—Oleka was allowed only to the first floor in the television tower. There is information, which we are going to verify one way or another, that there are not only defenders who have been killed but also those who have locked themselves in. I do not know whether he was admitted to the Television Center; does anyone know? He was not admitted? He was not, he was only in the tower.

Here is a list of 30 missing persons: three have been marked as having returned home, the rest are either those who have been protecting the tower or who are just missing. I advise everyone who has left home and arrived in Vilnius to advise others of your whereabouts by any means, by telephone, so that there is less anxiety, more confidence, and strength. We must nourish the spiritual strength and calm of each of us. Thank you.

Landsbergis Addresses Supreme Council 13 Jan

LD1401185191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1005 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Statement by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Dear people, children of the land of Lithuania, brothers and sisters: We, your elected deputies, to whom you handed over your will, have fulfilled the promise because this was also our will—proclaimed that Lithuania was a free country, free in its spirit, independent spirit, that it has the right to be free and independent and that it will be such. How did we offend the evil empire, a force hostile to justice and love? This force is now facing us who are present here, around the Supreme Council, and in the whole Lithuania. This force of hatred, this force of lies, this force of inhumanness wishes to crush everything where there can be justice, love, and humanness. But somebody has to defend justice, love, and humanness. Maybe fate has chosen us.

Now I want to tell what we are doing. We had a difficult state problem after the disappearance of our prime minister, Albertas Simenas. We believe that nothing bad happened to him; and so that nothing happens to him, we adopted important state decisions. We released him from the duties of the prime minister so that nobody could persecute him, pressure and torture him because he is a prime minister. We elected another prime minister, Gediminas Vagnorius. We confirmed and replenished the government, and you must know that you have a real government elected by the representatives of the nation and sworn in.

I talked today many times by telephone and in person to diplomatic and other representatives of foreign states. I said many impolite things, but now is not the time for political politeness. I tried to appeal to the conscience of the world, and we will see if it is there. I tried to contact Moscow and President Gorbachev. The gate is shut there; a decision has been made there, but this decision has not yet reached the world surrounding us.

Now when we are facing danger to us and you, we are thinking about Lithuania. We know why we have advanced toward this danger. We know why we are determined like soldiers to sacrifice our lives, too, if the homeland needs it. Our brothers already sacrificed their lives today.

When I think about you all who are here in the streets and squares, I am proud of you. I am proud to be Lithuanian, to be a citizen of this country, proud to be together with you, because we cherish freedom as it is written on the Bell of Freedom: He who does not defend freedom is not worthy of it. We are going to defend it. If we should fail to defend and lose it, the seed of freedom will sprout again and again, and Lithuania will be reborn and will be free.

Today I would like every bell in Lithuania, in every Lithuanian church to be a bell of freedom, so that they all ring from our small country to this big and odd world, spreading their pure voice: We are free people. Even if we are murdered and tortured, we are worthy of the name of the people, the nation, and the country. Thank you, dear ones.

Report on Landsbergis, Motieka News Conference

Landsbergis on Power at Center

LD1401221391 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1838 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Remarks by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at a news conference at the Supreme Council building in Vilnius on 14 January; with questions by unidentified correspondents—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [EUROPEAN correspondent, in English] A question from the EUROPEAN newspaper, London. Could you tell me, please, after your conversation with President Gorbachev are you any closer to knowing who exactly ordered the attack on Saturday night, and what role President Gorbachev himself played in it? Did he know nothing about it before?

[Landsbergis] I raised this question with President Gorbachev, saying that it has become unclear to us what sort of power and how many powers there were in the Soviet Union. Who is now in power?

Partly, the intangibility of those in power has been confirmed by the fact the military officials did not heed instructions concerning the matters we had agreed upon with President Gorbachev.

[Correspondent, in English] Mr. Landsbergis, [word indistinct] of the Russian service, you say that yesterday's military action was somehow hand-given to Saddam Husayn. What do you mean exactly by that, please?

[Landsbergis] If you had at any time played chess, then you should know that when one of your flanks is attacked you have to resort to actions on the opposite flank. If the player is sitting in Moscow and his flank is being pressured, as currently in Iraq, he must draw the world's attention elsewere. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Talks 'Fairly Productive'

LD1401212591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1912 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Lyubov Chernaya on first part of news conference by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis and Supreme Council Presidium Deputy Chairman Kazimieras Motieka at the Supreme Council building in Vilnius on 14 January]

[Text] The main questions at the news conference of Vytautas Landsbergis and Kazimieras Motieka concerned first and foremost the conversation of the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuanian with Gorbachev, the USSR president. Well, Vytautas Landsbergis said nothing new, nothing other than what we had said earlier today; I can add briefly that the conversation was fairly productive. The president gave consent that the minister of health could enter the seized building, and as a result the medics entered the ground floor of the television tower, only the ground floor, because they thought there could still be two wounded defenders there.

Apart from that, Landsbergis confirmed that in response to his demand that the commission should be given some powers, Gorbachev said that the members of the commission can act in his name. This provides the opportunity for them to stay for a longer period.

Apart from that, Vytautas Landsbergis in one of his replies said that Gorbachev is calling for dialogue. Well, he has been calling for dialogue for a long time, but so far that dialogue has not come about.

Vytautas Landsbergis also reported that there had been contacts with the Soviet military. Major General Varennikov, unfortunately, has arrived in Lithuania. His name is connected, as a rule, with a crisis situation.

The journalists asked whether he was expecting an attack on the legislature. Vytautas Landsbergis said that it was possible that the legislature would be attacked from the air, most likely at night. He also asked foreign journalists, especially women, to leave the legislature building for the night. [passage indistinct]

The questions addressed to Kazimieras Motieka also concerned his dealings with the military. Motieka reported the following: [passage indistinct]. Motieka explained that he had taken part in talks with the military together with Miecyslovas Laurinkus; when he left, Laurinkus remained at the headquarters. Of course, all the talks which they are conducting should deal with more serious issues than simply the curfew. Primarily it should be a matter of the withdrawal of the troops and the cessation of actions by the military, of aggressive actions by the military.

When he was asked about the military having raised demands that people should leave all the sites they are defending, Motieka stated that they will hardly be able to convince people of this. People have fallen under tanks and the tanks have gone for them, as happened at the television tower. People see the protection of these builidngs as the defense of independence of Lithuania.

At this time the first part has ended. At this time Miecyslovas Laurinkus has arrived. At present Landsbergis, Motieka, and Laurinkus are consulting, and in a short time the second part of the news conference will be relayed.

Yeltsin To Visit Vilnius

LD1401213980 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1943 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Lyubov Cherbnaya on second part of news conference by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, Supreme Council Presidium Deputy Chairman Kazimieras Motieka, and Miecyslovas Laurinkus, general director of the Security Department, at the Supreme Council building in Vilnius on 14 January]

[Text] The second part of the news conference in which Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania; Kazmimieras Motieka, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council Presidium of the Republic of Lithuania; and Miecyslovas Laurinkus, general director of the Security Department, took part.

The main points should be noted. Laurinkus said that he had reported on his conversations with the military commandant, and two demands were formulated. First, within the bounds of Vilnius there will be traditional patrolling introduced, but with enhanced weaponry. This means that not only officers but also soldiers on patrol will be armed. Second, all roads will be taken under control. It is intended to equip control points where (?passage) will be only by permission of Commandant Belousov.

Vytautas Landsbergis informed the journalists that light had been seen at the Vilnius television tower. Obviously programs will be resumed. He asked people not to be surprised if the events which have taken place are not assessed in them.

Tonight the curfew has still not been introduced, Miecyslovas Laurinkus stressed.

From the important announcements one can also note that Vytautas Landsbergis said that Yeltsin had agreed to come to Vilnius. This is not the first invitation, and this time he clearly will come. For this, a draft treaty of the Republic of Lithuanian with the Russian Federation has been drawn up. The draft treaty has been received from the Russian Federation. A specific date for the meeting has not yet been designated.

To the question about what was the aim of the arrival of General Varennikov, Miecyslovas Laurinkus said that the Lithuanian Government was not aware of his intentions. It was only known that Varennikov had arrived this evening.

It is interesting how Vytautas Landsbergis commented on the events taking place in Lithuania. He said that Lithuania was a forerunner of what would happen later in Latvia and Estonia. [sentence indistinct] In commenting on Gorbachev's speech, he said that there is not even a scenario in it. When there is an attempt to present events in Lithuania as an internal conflict, this is indeed a conflict between states.

At the end of the news conference, (Audis Azubalis) reported that according to his information there are are now 64 people missing. The news conference ended with that.

Curfew Lifted; Travel Restricted

LD1401225191 Moscow TASS in English 2208 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Kazys Uscila and Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Vilnius January 15 TASS—The situation in Lithuania has been stabilised over the past 24 hours, but the danger of assault against the parliament still remains, a news conference late on Monday was told. President Vytautas Landsbergis took part in this news conference, held by members of the republic's parliament.

The curfew will not be imposed in Lithuania on Monday night and Tuesday morning, parliament member Mecislovas Laurinkus told the news conference. An agreement to this effect was reached as a result of a meeting between representatives of the Lithuanian parliament and the military leadership.

It was also announced that the troops would patrol the streets as before. Travel in and out of the Lithuanian capital is allowed only with the permission of the city's military commandant.

Lithuania's National Salvation Committee proclaimed "unlawful and invalid the resolution on the transformation of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic into the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, adopted as a result of a parliamentary coup d'etat in favour of the nationalist separatist forces, as well as the Provisional Fundamental Law (constitution) of the Lithuanian Republic." The resolution of the National Salvation Committee released on Monday expresses determination "to restore in full measure the effect of the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic on Lithuanian Territory, as well as the name of the working people's state created in the difficult struggle—the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic."

In its decision, the Lithuanian parliament named the Lithuanian Salvation Committee an "instrument of aggression" and declared it "illegal" and its aims "unconstitutional".

Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila who heads the state commission on the funeral of the fallen during the events in Vilnius, said that the list of victims of the tragedy reached 14 people.

Rimantas Junkiavicus, 24, died of wounds at a hospital on Monday morning. Vaisvila also said that the state commission requested the relatives of the deceased for their agreement to burying the victims of the tragic events at the same place: the oldest Vilnius cemetery Rasu.

According to the deputy prime minister, out of 164 wounded people 43 are hospitalised. Twenty-six of them are in a serious condition.

Health Minister on Casualty Toll

LD1401230791 Berlin ADN in German 2006 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius (ADN)—The actions by the Soviet troops in Vilnius have cost 14 dead and 230 injured, Lithuanian Health Minister Juosas Oleka announced at a news conference in Vilnius today. The injured include 87 women. Thirty-seven people are still hospitalized. Over half of them have suffered serious injuries.

Estonian radio said in a correspondent's report from the Lithuanian capital that at present 27 people are missing. As yet there is still no complete picture about the number of victims resulting from the storming of the Vilnius radio and television center by Soviet troops. Contrary to the promise given by President Mikhail Gorbachev, the Lithuanian health minister has still not been allowed to visit the badly damaged broadcasting center. The report by Estonian Radio from Vilnius says soldiers acted like vandals in the building. The situation in the city remains tense.

Foreign Minister Saudargas Vows No Compromise

LD1401190791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Interview with Lithuanian Foreign Minister Agirdas Saudargas by correspondent Gabor Nemes in Warsaw; date not given—recorded, Saudargas speaks in Lithuanian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[[Nemes] Mr. Saudargas, so far you have said that no one has accepted responsibility for the military actions. If it turns out that Gorbachev is not responsible, what can you recommend to him? Is there a chance of a compromise after the events that took place?

[Saudargas] If it is discovered that Gorbachev is not responsible for the Lithuanian bloodshed, then this blood has been shed for Gorbachev. Then what kind of negotiations can be considered? He is either a criminal or he has no power.

[Nemes] But still, do you have some kind of proposal for any Soviet negotiating partner? What can you say to the other side, in specific terms, except do not shoot?

[Saudargas] What can we propose? The Soviet Army should leave Lithuania.

[Nemes] And afterward?

[Saudargas] What do you mean afterward, afterward? [repeats himself] Exactly like in 1920, we will sign a peace treaty. This is very simple. Your question makes no sense. When there is no longer a single Soviet soldier in Lithuania, then either with Russia, or the Soviet Union, or anyone, we will sign a peace treaty. Earlier we wanted to discuss it under peaceful conditions, under what terms and when the troops will be withdrawn. But now, since there is a war, there is only one question remaining on the agenda. The whole of the Soviet military should be immediately withdrawn from Lithuania. There can be no question of any kind of compromise.

[Nemes] And what is your opinion of the Czechoslovak proposal that as a protest against the events in Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary should leave the Warsaw Pact?

[Saudargas] That is too late; that should have been done yesterday.

Lithuanian Supreme Council 14 Jan Session Outlined

LD1401113691

[Editorial Report] Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian at 0825 GMT on 14 January begins a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At 0843 GMT Deputy Dementey, speaking in Russian, reports on the activity of the special commission in Lithuania to investigate the conflict between Lithuania and the central USSR authorities. Dementey says that the mission of the commission is to "find a way of mediating in the talks which must be held between the disputing parties and conflicting sides, in order to halt processes which could lead, let us say, to bloodshed." He concludes by saying that the objective is to "guarantee those human rights which are recognized in the world, in the Soviet Union, and in the Republic of Lithuania, to ensure that every citizen in our country is protected today."

At 0910 GMT Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis speaks. He recounts talks he has held with Gorbachev, saying that he lodged a protest against the "bloody events in Vilnius" and goes on to note some "constructive" aspects of his talks: the presence of the special commission in Lithuania and that Gorbachev "promised to issue orders to the Armed Forces not to prevent entry into the occupied buildings by our health minister...."

Landsbergis goes on to view the support for Lithuania in the world and Lithuania's relations with other Soviet republics. He concludes by assuring the relatives of those killed that "this sacrifice was not in vain."

At 0925 GMT Kauspedas, chairman of the Union of Lithuanian Journalists says that journalists from Lithuanian radio are being blackmailed and intimidated by supporters of the "Unity" organization, who are attempting to force them to defect to their side and start working for the pro-Russian opposition. Kauspedas says that no one has yet defected.

An announcement is made that those killed will be buried in the most famous cemetery in Vilnius, the Rasos cemetery, where only the most famous Lithuanians are allowed to be buried.

At 0933 GMT Z. Vaisvila, chairman of the Burial Commission, reports on the burial of the people killed in Vilnius by Soviet troops. He lists the names of those who were shot dead. He also mentions that 43 people are still in the hospital, some of them in critical condition.

Vaisvila said that the funerals will be held at the expense of the state. The deceased will lie in state in the Palace of Sports.

At 0946 GMT questions are put to Vaisvila. A deputy says that he received reports from eyewitnesses who said that they saw how Soviet servicemen were dragging people they had killed into their tanks. Vaisvila sais that many have been reported missing and he thought that these people might have been killed and hidden by the Soviet army officers to reduce the number of casualties.

He goes on to say that 23 people remain in critical condition in the hospital.

At 0958 GMT the names of those killed and other information is given in Russian. The radio then suspends its live relay and gives a summary of the above Supreme Council proceedings in Russian.

Poland's Michnik Addresses Council

LD1401220191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1320 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Speech by Polish Sejm representative Adam Michnik at Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live in Polish with simultaneous translation into Lithuanian; transcribed from the Polish]

[Text] Mr. President, deputies: In this dramatic moment for Lithuania and the whole of Europe, I bring you words of solidarity, fraternity, and admiration from Warsaw. The chambers of the Polish legislature, the Sejm and the Senate, have expressed their stance in relation to that which has taken place in Vilnius. I want to assure you that we in Poland have no doubt whose side truth and human dignity are on. In your aspiration towards national sovereignty, you have our hearts on your side. We have the consciousness, (?with which) we are shouting out in Warsaw, before the Soviet Embassy, that here, in Lithuania, the future of European democracy is being decided.

But as a Pole, I would like to say something more. For many years history has wound together the fates of our nations. This mutual history has been varied—sometimes good, sometimes bad, but always mutual. In the name of that community, I wish to assure you that the Poles will grant all possible assistance to your brave and heroic struggle, which is a struggle for all of us. The Poles know that 41 [as heard] years ago, as a result of the Ribbentrop- Molotov pact, the countries of our region were given up into the hands of atrocity-mongering, totalitarian dictatorships. And the Poles know that those who today send occupational armies against Lithuania want the consequences of that atrocious pact to last. And that is why we say to all occupiers of Lithuania, no! Long live free Lithuania! [applause]

Hungarian Representative Speaks

LD1401221191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1320 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Statement by Hungarian Democratic Forum representative Huba Kozma at Lithuanian Supreme council session in Vilnius—live; in Hungarian with simultaneous translation into Lithuanian; translated from the Hungarian]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed legislautre, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends. I come from the country whose people lived through similar events 35 years ago. I come from a country whose people, for precisely this reason, is in special solidarity with you.

We have undertaken this mission because we know how important it is, in such heated days, to make our friends feel that they are not alone. We also know that in the chess game of the great powers, the small peoples play a subordinate role, and for precisely this reason it is very important that Europe's small nations should become united and that they should wage together the fight for their independence. If these danger-fraught clouds blow over, our first task must be the forging together of this unity. It is a good feeling to know and feel, now and here, that this unity is being formed. Lithuania will win sooner or later. Long live Lithuania's independence, let the solidarity of the peoples of Europe strengthen! Long live our common victory! Thank you for your attention.

Council Condemns National Salvation Committee

LD1401164591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1515 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Resolution read at Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] On 11 January 1991 the Lithuanian CPSU organization announced that the so-called Lithuanian National Salvation Committee was set up. It was stated that this committee is taking over power to take care of Lithuania's future. That is, it is becoming a tool of aggression.

It is remarkable that the formation of the committee coincided with the act of open USSR military aggression [words indistinct] people were injured, state property was destroyed and seized, and social calm was disturbed.

The so-called National Salvation Committee, if it exists, is inciting national discord, social unrest, [words indistinct] the living standard of labor collectives.

The occupation army, using as a cover this self-proclaimed committee and its work, and attempting to disorganize the state and social life, unlawfully announced the introduction of a curfew in the Republic of Lithuania. These actions attempt to form a structure of an occupation power and replace the legitimate [word indistinct] of the Republic of Lithuania, [passage indistinct]

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania resolves:

1. To state that the so-called National Salvation Committee [passage indistinct]. Its actions are of an unconstitutional and antistate nature and therefore criminal. All the directives of this committee and other similar illegitimate organizations have no legal validity and cannot be implemented under any conditions. Persons and organizations fulfilling the directives of this committee and other similar organizations will be answerable to the laws of the Republic of Lithuania.

2. To note that the so-called National Salvation Committee, inviting the Armed Forces of a foreign state to engage in criminal actions against state institutions and peaceful residents of the Republic of Lithuania, is taking part in the international [words indistinct]

Salvation Committee: 11 Mar Decisions 'Invalid'

LD1401191391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1812 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius, 14 January. (TASS)—Taking into account that "the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has replied with appeals for a fratricidal war to the demand by the working people to reinstate the Constitutions of the USSR and the Lithuania Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]," the National Salvation Committee of Lithuania has adopted a decision, which was circulated today by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee news agency. In this document "the decision on the transformation of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR into the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, adopted on 11 March 1990 as a result of a legislative coup d'etat in favor of nationalist separatist forces, and the provisional basic law (constitution) of the Lithuanian Republic are declared illegal and invalid."

The National Salvation Committee of Lithuania has resovled "to reinstate in full the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR on the territory of Lithuania and also to restore the name of the state of the working people created amid difficult struggle—the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic."

The decision obligates the state bodies of the Lithuanian SSR and the public organizations operating on its territory and its citizens to be guided by this decision.

Lithuania Communists Assail Misinformation

LD1401191991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1738 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius, 14 Jan (TASS)—The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee's news agency circulated a report today which stresses that the numerous reports by the republican, Union and foreign media that are paying great attention to the events in Lithuania "sometimes contain quite contradictory and distorted information." "This is graphically seen in the work of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's information services."

In their reports and comments on the events in Lithuania, certain Union and numerous foreign press bodies rely on unchecked facts. Thus, reports on the alleged seizure by paratroopers of the inter-town telephone exchange were circulated, and unsubstantiated figures of dead and injured in Vilnius were given as well as unproved data on the use by the servicemen of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry of bullets with a shifted center of gravity. An outrageous "fact" of a serviceman having been killed by his comrade was disseminated.

The media have persistently disseminated an appeal to Lithuanian residents and the world public asking them "to urgently give blood and send surgical gloves and bandage kits," thereby creating an illusion of large-scale bloodshed in the city streets, spreading panic, and whipping up nationalistic psychosis. Without waiting for expert conclusions, certain press bodies are placing all responsibility for the tragic consequences of what took place at the television tower on servicemen of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry subunits and deliberately pass over in silence the fact of hitmen from the country's defense department opening fire on parliamentaries.

Certain media also raise a fuss over the fact that the names of members of the Lithuanian National Salvation Committee have not yet been published. Professor Yu. Yermalavicius, representative for liasing with the Lithuania National Salvation Committee, told the (?Lithuanian) Communist Party Central Committee's news agency that this is solely due to concern for the safety of the families of the committee's active members. After the atmosphere of a hostile attitude to "different-minded" people in Lithuania changes, "the names of commitee members will be published."

Call for Presidential Rule

LD1401175791 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius January 14 TASS—There is dual power in Lithuania today: that of the Lithuanian legislature and the National Salvation Committee. Neither side has full control. The situation remains explosive, says a report by the information service of the Lithuanian Communist Party [LCP] Central Committee.

In the opinion of the LCP Central Committee, there is only one way out: the imposition of direct presidential rule. Otherwise, there is a real threat of civil war.

To avoid confrontation, the military proposed an end to patrols on Vilnius streets by troops and Sajudis representatives and their sympathisers on the night of January 14. This proposal was confirmed by Vytautas Landsbergis who spoke on radio.

Military hardware has disappeared from Vilnius streets. The Independence Square now looks deserted.

Events of recent days showed troops playing a stabilising role in the republic. They are softening the confrontation of political forces and are looking for peaceful solutions of urgent problems which have developed during the years of the Sajudis rule.

Despite a three-day mourning proclaimed in the republic, violence is continuing in Vilnius and some Lithuanian cities. Windows were smashed in district draft centres, KGB branches and district communist party committees.

A communications cable with the district draft center was damaged in the city of Mazeikiaj. The Kaunas radio station calls for abducting Soviet Army officers, communists and KGB officers.

The Lithuanian legislature has called on the population to begin civil disobedience.

Communications Official on Radio Center Seizure

LD1401152191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1315 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 14 Jan (TASS)—Troops of the Soviet Army at midday today seized the Vilnius technical communications center [uzel], which relays radio programs, a TASS correspondent was told today by Alfredas Basevicius, deputy minister of communications of Lithuania.

According to him, this step is "fraught with fateful consequences for the intended prospects for the normalization of the situation which has arisen."

The deputy minister said that "armed assault troops have broken into the premises, driven out the workers from the administrative building and from the working areas, and disconnected the city's radio center".

Since noon today the radio points in the Lithuanian capital have indeed been operating only when transmitting music, and have been immediately falling silent whenever other reports are being broadcast or relays from the sessions of the Supreme Soviet are progress.

The leadership of the ministry asked for an explanation of this, in reply to which the Soviet Army colonel heading the military group commented that this step had been taken "on the instructions of the military commandant of the city".

Radio Appeal Urges Soldiers Not To Shoot

LD1401174291 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1703 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Unattributed "appeal" to Soviet soldiers]

[Text] If you receive an order again to shoot at unarmed people, again to crush them under the tracks of your tanks, do not obey this order. Shoot into the air, or do not shoot at all. Do anything you want, only do not shed the blood of innocent people. Human life is priceless, it is sacred, and taking part in murder cannot be redeemed by anything.

Brother soldiers, remember your families, your children. Remember your native land. No one will forgive you for murder. Blood spilled will be an eternal shame for you. Enough blood; enough violence. All peoples want peace. I beg you in the name of God, in the name of Christ, do not spill blood. May God bless you [words indistinct].

Troops in Germany Being Ferried to Klaipeda

LD1401202191 Berlin ADN in German 1935 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Sassnitz/Ruegen (ADN)—Soviet troop units were transported to the ferry port of Mukran on the island of Ruegen on Monday. It is planned that they will be carried on the railway ferry Kaunas to Klaipeda in the Lithuanian Soviet Republic. The gathering of troops in the ferry port was confirmed to ADN when it made enquiries in Mukran.

There have been problems with the transportation of the troops. However, the solution of these problems was solely a matter for the Russians. The Soviet foreign representation in the town was not obliged to give the ferry operators further details.

The Kaunas, which is one of the ferries plying regularly between Mukran and Klaipeda, belongs to a Soviet shipyard.

Further on Troop Move to Klaipeda

LD1401212891 Berlin ADN in German 2007 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Sassnitz/Ruegen (ADN)—Soviet troop units were transported to the ferry port of Mukran on the island of Ruegen on Monday. It is planned that they will be carried on the railway ferry Kaunas to Klaipeda in the Lithuanian Soviet Republic. The gathering of troops in the ferry port was confirmed to ADN when it made enquiries in Mukran. [passage omitted]

The Bundeswehr Command East could not confirm a connection between the troop transfer and the events in Lithuania and was assuming a regular withdrawal of Soviet forces. According to information given by a spokesman, troops units have been being shipped to the Soviet Union via the Mukran ferry ports for some time. Mukran, on the island of Ruegen, is the main port for transfers home, all the more so as transport links through Poland are "under great strain" and in some cases "made available on a restricted basis" by Poland.

In the Supreme Command of the Western Group of Soviet Forces in Wuensdorf, near Berlin, no one could be contacted by telephone this evening.

Strike Suspended; President's Rule Still Sought

LD1401190591 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius January 14 TASS—The Vilnius strike committee supported decisions by the Lithuanian Salvation Committee aimed at easing social and political tension in the republic and decided to suspend the general political strike from January 14.

The strike committee's resolution stresses that the eventual aim of the general political strike is to immediately impose presidential rule in Lithuania. If this demand is not fulfilled, the resolution says, the strike committee "reserves the right to resume the strike and use other forms of civil disobedience."

The committee also adopted appeals to the Soviet parliament and Russian parliamentary president Boris Yeltsin.

The appeal to the Soviet parliament says that "working people of 23 striking enterprises in Vilnius support the establishment of the Lithuanian Salvation Committee."

"We believe that only the committee can pull the republic out of the political and economic crisis. You are requested that President Mikhail Gorbachev impose presidential rule in Lithuania."

The strike committee appealed to Boris Yeltsin as the Russian parliament head and member of the USSR Council of the Federation.

More than 80 representatives from Vilnius strike committees were sent to present a written petition to the Lithuanian Government on January 12, the appeal says. However, they were met by gunmen in front of the building of the Lithuanian parliament and government and beaten up.

The committee asked Yeltsin to study the incident, since Sajudis supporters beat unarmed people who came to the republican parliament and government on a peace mission.

"The mass media whipped up the tension with lies. Workers lost confidence in Lithuanian supreme authority and captured republican television and radio, together with Soviet Interior Ministry troops."

The committee demanded that the situation be objectively examined and that Yeltsin meet striking workers and listen to their demands.

Speaking with TASS, Chairman of the Salcininkai District Council in Lithuania Ceslav Vysocki expressed deep indignation at misinformation being circulated by the Lithuanian parliament.

"History has not known such blatant lies and slander," Vysocki said. "But I believe that the truth will triumph. Landsbergis will be put in the dock not as a national hero, but as a murderer."

Rail Workers End Strike

LD1401170691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1340 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by special correspondent Yuriy Korotkov from Vilnius]

[Text] Mourning has been announced in Lithuania for those who died as a result of the armed conflict during the night of 13 January at the television tower and the building of the television and radio committee. In these places flowers have been laid on the tarmac, wooden crosses have been set up, and memorial candles are burning. On the buildings are national flags with black mourning ribbons. According to the information of the National Salvation Committee, six people died during these tragic events. According to the information of the independent radio station of Lithuaia, broadcasting from Kaunas, 13 people died and more than 130 were injured.

The number of fatalities could have been greater if the thugs from the country's defense department had succeeded in setting fire to a number of premises at the television tower and the press house, which had been liberally doused with gasoline. The editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA stated that he and the editorial staff at the press house literally had to walk through pools of gasoline. At present, the danger of fire has arisen in the Supreme Soviet building, where a large quantity of bottles containing gasoline is stockpiled.

A curfew is in operation in the city of Vilnius and throughout Lithuania, but military personnel are not to be seen on the streets. The situation is calm. Industrial enterprises, transportation, stores, and everyday services are working; only nurseries and schools are not functioning. The strike committee at the Vilnius department of the Baltic railway has announced an end to its strike but reserves the right to resume it if their main demand is not met: the introduction of presidential rule and the restoration to force of the constitutions of the USSR and of the Lithuanian SSR.

Generally, I repeat, the situation in the capital and in Lithuania is normal. Nevertheless, according to a report from the news agency of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, there are cases of outrages in Vilnius and a number of other towns. In a number of places rampaging thugs are smashing windows in military enlistment offices KGB department, and rayon party committees.

The Supreme Soviet of Lithuania is continuing its session today. It was addressed by Supreme Soviet Chairman Landsbergis. He said he had had a telephone conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Landsbergis also said in his address that a large country is waging war against a small country. Apart from this he stated that a commission has been set up to investigate two cases: to determine what the National Salvation Committee is, and a commission to deal with TASS disinformation.

On 13 January, as you know, representatives of the Council of the Federation arrived in the republic. Today they visited the fuel apparatus works and the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and met with the families of servicemen. A careful analysis of the difficult situation is under way, as is a search for achieving a possible compromise.

By today dual authority has in effect been established in the republic—the republican Supreme Soviet and the National Salvation Committee. Unfortunately, neither side is able to control the situation fully. In the view of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, there is only one way out: Direct rule by the USSR president. Otherwise a real threat arises of civil war in the republic. A session of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee Bureau has been set for 1900 local time, that is, 2000 in Moscow [1700 GMT]. The situation in the republic will be discussed.

That seems to be all the information that I have to date.

Agency Official Comments on Yazov Statement

LD1401220391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Following the weekend events, Lithuania gained priority in broadcasts of all radio stations. Only a short while ago our colleague, Miroslav Polacek, managed to get through to Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. The person at the other end of the phone was the deputy director of the Lithuanian news agency, Vilius Kovalskas.

[Begin recording] [Kovalskas, in Russian fading into Slovak translation] This morning the situation was not very different from yesterday. Nevertheless, we gave a small sigh of relief because, during the evening, tripartite talks were held with delegates from Moscow present as well. We have agreed that soldiers would not seize other buildings. Yesterday there no longer was military control of the strets and so the people guarding the buildings are dispersing slowly, but little groups still remain in the Vilnius main road. The situation will be more serious on Wednesday during the victims' funerals. From 1600 today, their bodies will be displayed in the Vilnius Sport Palace.

[Polacek] Then I asked Mr. Kovalskas what the reaction was in Lithuania to the statement by Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov in the legislature. Among other things he [Yazov] said that troops would withdraw from the streets of Vilnius and return to their garrisons. This was pleasant and new information for Mr. Kovalskas since neither radio nor television work and no papers are published in Lithuania. But he said that yesterday the tanks were still in the streets and that today he had not yet gone outside.

Well, now we can only wait for the Soviet legislature's statement on the situation in Lithuania and then that of President Mikhail Gorbachev. By the way, he is not present at the session. He is probably dealing with the Lithuanian issue right now. I think that the whole world is waiting for an explanation from this man. [end recording]

Federation Council Visit Offers 'Glimmer of Hope'

PM1401201191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Own correspondent N. Lashkevich report: "Mourning Candles in Vilnius"]

[Text] Candles were lit in many houses in Vilnius Sunday evening. The city and the whole of Lithuania are in mourning. According to more precise data, 14 people died. This was reported by Z. Vajsvila, recently elected deputy chairman of the government. He enumerated all the surnames, against the majority of which stands the word "killed." Many gravely injured people have been hospitalized. People are also holding candles in Independence Square, which has been turned into a area barricaded off on all sides. Bonfires are burning. The Lithuanian legislature is protected by metal reinforcement, buses, tractors, and dump trucks loaded with sand. Inside the building and at the entrance there is a pile of easy chairs. Young men armed with a variety of sticks, rubber clubs, and iron bars are walking in crowds through the rooms of legislature. Some have rifles over their shoulders. Now and then there is a movement, and a rumor spreads—tanks are moving toward the legislature! All who were sleeping jump up, and all who were wandering aimlessly gather in groups. A sigh of relief—the all-clear signal. The documents of those entering the building are checked rigorously and captiously. Passes and identity cards are examined attentively, and only then comes the invitation: "You may pass."

The thoroughly vague situation connected with the sudden disappearance of A. Simenas, the new prime minister, has finally been resolved in the legislature. He turned up equally suddenly in the sessions hall in the afternoon. V. Landsbergis reported that A. Simenas (during his brief absence they had time to appoint a new prime minister in his place, deputy G. Vagnorius) had been busy resolving family matters—he had been taking his three children to a safe place. Circumstances were such that he was unable to inform the deputies.

Hope of reaching agreement with the military emerged with the arrival of the USSR Council of the Federation delegation. And so it happened. After going to the National Salvation Committee, meeting with V. Landsbergis, and watching videotapes of bloody nighttime scenes, the delegation met with the military. And an accord was concluded at the meeting that the military would undertake no actions at night. The night of Sunday-Monday passed off calmly.

I managed to talk with B. Oleynik in the Supreme Soviet. He refused to make even a preliminary assessment of the events. The delegation members had come to Lithuania to ensure that no one else dies, he declared concisely. But former Prime Minister K. Prunskiene answered IZVESTIYA's questions in greater detail.

"What is happening in Lithuania today," she said, "is a blatant deviation from the democratic processes which had been developing recently in the country and the republic. I could assume that there would be pressure connected with the failed attempts to reach agreement and that we probably might find ourselves once again in economic isolation, but I had no inkling that there would be such casualties. I believe that the presence of the Council of the Federation delegation will play a positive role. After talking with various people, with political and social groups and movements, the delegation members will certainly make an appropriate assessment of events. We still hope that decisive measures will be taken in Moscow to halt the bloodshed."

Despite the glimmer of hope, the situation in Lithuania remains extremely tense. The National Salvation Committee is still fully resolved to take power into its hands. The information about a beating of a group of representatives of strike committees and the committee who had attempted to hand a protest to the leaders of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and to parliament on the threshold of the attack on the television center was denied by Lithuanian Supreme Soviet deputies, including C. Ursenas, the government's spokesman for information.

...In Vilnius on Monday people paid their last respects to the dead. There was a sea of people outside the Palace of Sport. Candles were burning in the city's windows....

N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet and member of the Council of the Federation delegation, addressed the Monday afternoon session. In his brief speech he defined the delegation's task as mediation in the present conflict and in ending bloodshed. He spoke of the meetings held at the Supreme Soviet and with the military. The delegation will also visit labor and scientific collectives and other organizations and will meet again with legislative deputies. He emphasized the importance of observing civil rights.

V. Landsbergis described the essence of his telephone conversation with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. According to him, he (V. Landsbergis) protested at the "bloody events in Lithuania." A promise was made to issue corresponding instructions not to hinder a visit to occupied installations by Health Minister Yu. Olek to ascertain whether there are any casualties there. V. Landsbergis reported on an accord relating to a meeting with the USSR president and the continuation of the dialogue with the Council of the Federation delegation, which possesses all the necessary powers from the USSR president.

Dementey on Federation Council Group Tasks

LD1401213791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by special correspondent I.Minayev from Vilnius; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Minayev] The night of 13-14 January passed comparatively quietly. The introduction of the curfew probably had an effect. Today we traveled all over Vilnius, as they say, in all directions, and nowhere did we come across tanks, armored carriers or military patrols, except for a very small area in front of the building of the television and radio committee which is being intensely guarded.

Despite the curfew, public transport is operating until late and traffic is continuing unabated on the streets.

Trains are running. The situation at the airport is also returning to normal. We were there when the Moscow flight was boarding.

It is tranquil on the streets of the city, but this equilibrium is a fragile one. People's nerves are tense to breaking point. At any moment the irreparable can happen.

This night, which on the whole was tranquil, was not without incidents. Radio Kaunas sounded the alarm. Someone had allegedly heard firing. In actual fact no one heard firing. A house caught fire and slates on the roof started cracking from the heat—a sound reminiscent of shots. Having sorted things out, the journalists apologized to the listeners, pleading the nervous situation.

At the present time journalists' responsibility has increased a hundredfold. Any carelessly dropped word or unverified fact can lead to bloodshed.

In the republic mourning has been announced for the people who died during these tragic days. According to preliminary data—they are to be made more precise—13 died and over 130 were injured. By what political aims and ambition can the death of people be justified?

As has already been reported, a Council of the Federation delegation has arrived in the republic. [video shows Dementey in the midst of a crowd] It has met members of the Lithuanian legislature and the government, and with military men, and has visited labor collectives. The first positive results have been achieved. Chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet Landsbergis called on his supporters to leave the square in front of the Supreme Soviet as the military have confirmed that if there is no tension in the city they will not undertake any actions.

[N.I.Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet] From the first moments we appeared on the territory of the City of Vilnius, we have mainly been engaged in lowering the tension which has been created here, to reassure the population by taking specific measures, and such specific measures must be undertaken today by the republic's Supreme Soviet and by the internal affairs bodies and these Army subunits stationed on the territory of this city.

Our task was to elucidate the mutual understanding between these parties, to propose that they meet, that they explain on which positions they lack understanding today, and to reach such an understanding, so as to reassure the people. The people are today in such a very agitated state. Rumors are being heard all the time that the forces of the Army may be used and that there will be bloodshed. But we have undertaken everything, and for the time being we have achieved such, I would say, an understanding on the part of the Supreme Soviet leadership and of the Army subunits which are here. We think that there will be no repetition of things that would lead to very, as they say, bad results, death, human fatalities.

Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party Issues Statement

LD1101220891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 91

[Text] In connection with the resignation of Kazimiere Prunskiene's government, the presidium of the Council of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [former independent Communist Party of Lithuania] has made a statement:

We will only support a government, the document says, which will be supported by the majority of Lithuania's people. We are in favor of a government capable of overcoming the economic and political crisis and able to hold a constructive dialogue with the USSR, the document published today says.

Komsomol Group Sends Letter Opposing Force

LD1401233291 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 2105 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] We have received from the Radio Measuring Instrument Works a letter written by its young workers at the initiative of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] committee in which they express resolute condemnation of the criminal action of the Armed Forces of the USSR against citizens of the Lithuanian Republic. They write that they consider impermissible any use of force in resolving internal state and internal political issues. This is a very indicative letter because this factory is the nest of all anti-state acts in Lithuania, so even among the ranks of the adversaries of Lithuania's independence there is a certain split. In the past few days especially, many people, after the cruel actions of the Army at the television tower, after so many casualties and spilled blood, have finally lost any illusion about the ability of Soviet rule to introduce any democratic transformations at all.

'Underground' Radio Discovered in Vilnius

LD1401231391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An underground radio station, by which means extremists were instructed on how to remove soldiers from their posts, to bribe them, demoralize them, ply them with drink and so on, was this morning discovered and removed in Vilnius.

Latvia

Barricades Erected in Riga Streets 14 Jan

AU1401084091 Paris AFP in English 0829 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, Jan 14 (AFP) — Barricades were set up in the streets of old Riga, the Latvian capital, as thousands of nationalists Monday [14 January] moved to prevent Soviet troops from reaching the legislature and radio and television buildings, a spokesman for the Latvian Foreign Ministry said.

Valdis Berzins told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that hundreds of trucks from all over the republic were blocking the streets of the old town where the main public buildings are located.

Meanwhile, a small bomb Sunday night exploded near a building occupied by Interior Ministry troops, but caused no injuries and only slight damage, the spokesman said. A number of small explosions have been set off in Riga over the past three weeks, causing little damage but heightening tension.

Mr. Berzins said the explosion was part "of an orchestrated campaign designed to exacerbate tension" in the independent republic.

Meanwhile, the Latvian legislature has told Lithuanian deputies they would be welcome to hold sessions in Riga if it became impossible for them to continue working in Lithuania. Soviet forces have threatened to storm the legislature in Vilnius.

Latvia will also hold a national day of mourning on the day the 14 victims of the fighting in Lithuania are buried.

Riga Calm Overnight

LD1401081991 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0718 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] The night passed relatively calmly in the Latvian capital, if, of course, you can call it a calm night when there were bonfires burning on Cathedral Square and at the Television complex, though it is true they soon suffered a shortage of logs for a while. The (?Perkon) band gave concerts, free, of course, at the radio building and on Zirgu Street, and around Old Riga in general impressive barricades made of concrete reinforcements as powerful refrigerated trucks and tractors murmured.

We say thank you to all who on this cold night came to the defense of their legislature and of their radio and television. The Supreme Soviet of the republic also thanks you, and appeals to you not to lose vigilance. Perhaps it is indeed thanks to your powerful support that we are able to say that the night passed relatively calmly. True, the statement by (Sergey Dimanis), leader of the Ravnopraviye [Equality] fraction, was somewhat alarming.

Supreme Soviet Says Riga 'Quiet'

LD1401071891

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 0700 GMT in a report by a correspondent at the Latvian Supreme Soviet press center says that a report that there were military vehicles on the Stay Bridge has turned out not to be true. Deputy Girts Kristovskis confirms that Riga is quiet. An unidentified speaker appeals to sportsmen, saying that although all was quiet at present, they had to be ready for anything.

Riga Commandant Denies Troops on Combat Alert

LD1401113391 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1021 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] In a conversation with a correspondent from LETA, Colonel Vladimir Fedorovskiy, military commandant of the Riga Garrison, denied radio reports that the troops stationed in the Latvian capital have today been placed on combat alert. "I would also like to stress," said Colonel Fedorovskiy, "that not a single vehicle with soldiers—apart from sentries changing guard at the Military Procuracy and Tribunal in Old Riga—has traveled through the city."

Radio Reports Commandos Fire on Trucks

LD1401174191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1635 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] A brutal military attack by the black berets, the USSR Interior Ministry special commando troops, was committed today in Vecmilgravis, a remote district of Riga city. They were shooting at trucks blocking a nearby bridge. Several drivers were attacked and captured.

Bomb Incident at Military Unit Reported

PM1501145991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Explosion at Military Camp"]

[Text] At the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops operations group a TASS correspondent was informed that at 0200 on 14 January an explosive device was thrown over a fence into the compound of a unit stationed in Riga by persons unknown. The barracks building suffered material damage as a result of the explosion. There were no casualties among personnel.

Republic MVD and KGB staffers are conducting an investigation. The military camp's guard has been reinforced.

'Dancing', 'Singing' Crowd in Central Riga

LD1401034891 Riga Domestic Service in English 0113 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by unidentified correspondent from Riga central square]

[Text] Now, some words from the town square. Now I am on the second floor of Latvian radio station, the building of the radio station situated in the central square of the capital of Latvia, the town square. The building of Latvian radio is encircled by Latvian people. In general, they are the youth. They are dancing, there are singing. Latvian radio and television continue to broadcast our programs. The Latvian legislature, the building of the legislature, situated only 600 meters away from radio station, so the legislature continue to work, too.

Latvians Continue 'Passive Resistance'

LD1401223691 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1200 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by station correspondent Liisa Linsioe from Riga]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Latvians, like the other Balts, have been somewhat calmed by the clear support given by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the legal governments of the Baltic states. On the other hand, the Latvians know from experience that you must take the Army troops here seriously. The Army is immediately ready for a counterstrike if the troops here are irritated, declared hardline People's Deputy Colonel Viktor Alksnis. He claimed that a general strike would start today in large factories and the sea port in Riga. However, it is still peaceful here, despite the warships that appeared in the Daugava River, in front of the TV center, early this morning. Colonel Alksnis reiterates his demand for the formation of a Council of National Salvation in Latvia. This council was established in Lithuania to overthrow the legal government of Lithuania.

People gathered here in Riga from different parts of Latvia do not intend to give in, even if the tanks soon roll in here just as they did in Lithuania. Riga Cathedral is functioning as a supply center and a resting place for volunteer guards. Inside the church a polyclinic and first aid posts have been set up to provide for the worst events. The streets and squares of the old town are full of Latvians who have come to defend their legal legislature and government, who are listening in absolute silence to the news coming from loudspeakers. Fires have been lit in the streets. The volunteer guards are warming their hands by them. Schools are closed in Riga today and many working places have given their workers leave so that as many as possible could take part in the voluntary defense of Riga.

Despite all the fear and tension the Latvians seem to remain calm. They intend to continue their passive resistance to defend legality in their own country.

Radio Liberty 'Whipping Up' Tension

LD1401222491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] By all accounts, the events in Lithuania have served as a powerful detonator which exploded the already unstable situation in neighboring Latvia. At an extraordinary sitting of the Supreme Soviet it was acknowledged that society in the republic is split. Reports of the kind broadcast this morning by Radio Liberty are also whipping up the situation. It was reported that Soviet troops are occupying the central area of the city of Riga. There was also a report about the ways soldiers are moving into the old city and onto the island of Zaku Sala where the Latvian television center is located. It was said that the soldiers are moving across on boats.

[Kasyanova] We saw neither tanks nor military equipment nor soldiers on the streets of Riga. Nevertheless, the city has been transformed. At the call of the Latvian Popular Front, a vigil was maintained throughout the night at the television center, the House of Radio, the Council of Ministers building, and the Supreme Soviet. Columns of laden tipper trucks, heavy trucks, and bulldozers blocked the bridges which unite the city divided by the Daugava. Streets into the old part of Riga have been closed off. Equipment continues to arrive.

Today, the time set by an ultimatum from the republican strike committee demanding the resignation of the Supreme Soviet and the government runs out. Latvia is faced with a general political strike. At the initiative of Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, more than 60 representatives of public organisations and parties gathered outside parliament in the conference hall of the Riga city executive committee in order to discuss the possibility of ways toward a civilian peace.

[Video shows interview with A.V. Gorbunovs, chairman of Latvian Supreme Soviet] [Begin Gorbunovs recording] Public and political organizations have formulated their demands in the form of ultimatums or in the form of statements of the facts themselves. Now it is simply necessary for a narrower circle to sit down and work out together how tension can be relaxed tomorrow by specific actions. [end recording]

[Video shows interview with S.L. Dimanis, chairman of the Center for Democratic Initiatives] [Begin Dimanis recording] We will search for a way out of the crisis now, because everything which is happening in front of one's eyes and in the media and in the eyes of the public does not help to resolve any specific issues. If tomorrow there is a clash between those forces which were aroused yesterday and overnight and were literally led into an irresponsible state in the city, and those forces which will act tomorrow, you know, it seems to me that those forces which currently fear the army will simply beg it to bring about order. So today they should be everything to ensure that tomorrow we do not capsize the boat. [end recording]

[Video shows interview with V.G.Bresis, chairman of the Union of Agricultural Workers of Latvia] [Begin Bresis recording] It seems to me that if we find that path, if we really respect both the economic and political rights of all people, then, without a doubt, it is possible to find a compromise. [end recording]

IZVESTIYA Updates Situation in Latvia

PM1401201791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent I. Litvinova: "Riga: Seeking Roads to Concord"]

[Text] At Sunday's plenary sitting of the Latvian Supreme Soviet A. Gorbunovs, its chairman, admitted that the republic's population has been split. There will be a disaster unless parliamentarians are able to find roads to concord.

Unfortunately, in discussing the political situation in the republic, the deputies were unable to bring their positions even a little closer together. The ruling majority of the People's Front was prepared to outlaw both the Communist Party and unwelcome deputies. They expelled the "Vremya" program's cameraman from the hall. They pulled the plug on Radio "Mayak" transmissions. They did exactly the same thing in the evening, when they pulled the plug on Central Television and gave the airwaves over to their own commentaries on events in Lithuania.

Yes, what is happening in the neighboring republic is of concern to everyone. But, by totally giving one party—the People's Front—the monopoly over state radio and television, the republic's leadership has deprived people of the possibility of hearing different versions of events and different assessments. The airwaves are being used to fuel a kind of psychosis. The order has been given not to disperse all night and to defend various installations. Heavy construction and agricultural equipment has been driven into Riga, and the call has gone out to erect barricades. The saddest thing is that all this is happening after statements by state officials and deputies. Now, during a relay from the Supreme Soviet sitting, people hear: "It is reported from Georgia that Shevardnadze has reported that there will be a military coup in a few days' time." Now this report comes from the session: "In Moscow the militia and troops are being issued live cartridges." Another piece of news: "A column of tanks is proceeding along Riga's central street." Deputies get into a vehicle and drive off—again it proves to be disinformation.

In such a situation the Ministry of Education suddenly adopted a decision to close all educational institutions as of 14 January. This worried people even more: What threatens their children? Dainis Ivans, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, was unable to give an intelligible answer to this question, which was put by "Equal Rights" deputies at the request of voters.

Yes, Anatolijs Gorbunovs is right: Latvian society is totally split. Some do not believe the central mass media, others do not believe the local ones. On Sunday some went to a thousands-strong People's Front rally on Daugava's embankment in order, as LPF [Latvian People's Front] Chairman R. Razukas said, to support the government, which has raised prices four times—something that has never before happened in world practice. Others will go to the same embankment Tuesday to demand the government's resignation if it does not rescind its decision. Approximately 300 enterprises have told the strike committee of their readiness to begin political strikes 14-15 January. Their participants will be those who do not trust the republic's present leadership and who condemn not only the price hike but also the discriminatory laws adopted in recent months.

There are also differing opinions in the republic regarding the Russian leadership's policy on the Baltic region. The People's Front has announced that it is gambling on the support of Russia and Yeltsin (the same applies to the LPF faction in the legislature). Among the Russophones, as it is now customary to call them, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium resolutions and Boris Yeltsin's statements mainly give rise to bewilderment. They ask this question: Why do they not notice the antidemocratic actions of local legislatures?

An extraordinary Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held Sunday [13 January]. The communists decided to participate in the talks which A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, intends to hold with parties and public organizations on 14 January. True, the participants believe the time for seeking compromises has manifestly been missed, and the two proposals for talks which the Communist Party made several months ago were ignored.

The "Equal Rights" faction submitted its own proposals to the legislature for stabilizing the situation in the republic. Unfortunately, television viewers were unable to hear them during the live relay from the sessions hall: The sound was switched off. But the proposals merit attention and provide an opportunity to seek ways to achieve public concord. The "Equal Rights" deputies proposed repealing the laws and resolutions which violate human rights, adopting a resolution declaring all permanent inhabitants of the Latvian Republic to be its citizens, setting up a public concord council consisting of equal numbers of deputies from both factions, altering the composition of the Cabinet of Ministers, and creating a government of public trust that represents the interests of all sectors of the population. The Latvian Communist Party advances an analogous program.

Radio and television reported at night that the Supreme Soviet had set up a defense staff headed by A. Krastins, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

On the morning of 14 January, the Supreme Soviet Press Center reported that the night had passed off calmly in the republic. People who have traveled to Riga from various parts of Latvia and who are fatigued from pointless night watches are being accommodated in hostels.

Latvia Appeals to Soviet Armed Forces

LD1401010691 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0011 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Statement by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Latvia; read by announcer]

[Text] Soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army: You gave an oath to defend your people, with weapons in your hands, from enemies. But today, the forces of reaction which are dragging the country backward toward dictatorship and lawlessness and who want to seize power with bayonets and blood are ordering you to turn your weapons on the civilian population and to shed the blood of defenseless people.

In Lithuania the path of the airborne assault has already been strewn by dozens of bodies and hundreds of wounded, including women and children. Come to your senses. Stop. Do not shoot at defenseless people. If you do not use weapons here in the Baltic region, if you do not use weapons here in the Baltic region your example may stop your colleagues who have received the same criminal order to discharge their cartridge clips into your mothers, wives, daughters, sons, sisters, and brothers in the Ukraine, Moldavia, Russia, Georgia, Armenia, and Belorussia.

Today, your choice is with your own conscience, before your mothers and before God.

[Signed] The Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic.

Legislature Concludes Latvians 'Split'

LD1401182891 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Participants of a many-thousand-strong demonstration [manifestatsiya] in Riga declared their solidarity with Lithuania and full support for the leadership of Latvia. At an extraordinary plenary session of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, it was acknowledged that society in the republic was split. The deputies adopted documents condemning the military actions in Lithuania and containing an appeal to the people of Latvia to unite around their Supreme Soviet.

Those taking part in a plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which ended late last evening, came to the conclusion that the policy being followed by the current Supreme Soviet and the government which it formed has led Latvia to political crisis and political chaos. Backing was given to the demands of labor collectives and strike committees for the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and of all local soviets of people's deputies, the resignation of the government, the holding of new elections, and also for the rescinding of laws and resolutions adopted which are not in accordance with the constitutions of the USSR, Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the decrees of the USSR president.

Last night, our correspondent reported from Riga that the center of the Latvia capital looked like a fortress. The narrow streets leading to the Supreme Soviet and the Latvia radio building were blocked by trucks, mobile cranes, and even barricades.

Thousands of Riga inhabitants went out onto Cathedral Square in response to an appeal by the Supreme Soviet and the Latvian People's Front, to defend the radio studios and the Supreme Soviet from an allegedly expected attack by Soviet Army units. Latvian television and radio have switched to 24-hour operations.

Minister Empowered To Head Exile Government

LD1401224991 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1521 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] At a scheduled session of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, Janis Jurkans, minister of foreign affairs, has been given special powers. He has the right to represent Latvia abroad, and also to head a government of the republic there if the existing, legal cabinet of ministers is removed. Janis Jurkans, who is in Stockholm at the invitation of the Swedish Government, took part in a protest meeting outside the USSR Embassy in Stockholm.

Baltic Military Commander Addresses Meeting

LD1401184391 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1335 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Speech by Colonel General Fedor Mikhaylovich Kuzmin, commander in chief of the Baltic Military District, at a meeting of Latvian political leaders convened by Latvian Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs in Riga on 14 January—recorded]

[Text] I must declare that the Baltic military district is not the organization which is disturbing the situation but, on the contrary, is assisting its improvement in every way. [interjection of "you are very friendly"]

To ensure the unconditional stabilization of the situation in the republic and on behalf of the many thousand collective of the servicemen of the district, I propose a return to honoring the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and the decree of the USSR president, abolishing all the laws which have been passed which violate the rights and duties of the servicemen, the members of their families, veterans of war and of labor, and the so-called Russian-speaking population; stopping abuses of servicemen. Their patience is not limitless.

In this connection, I protest against the remarks at yesterday's demonstration by a number of speakers, including a member of legislature (Styopichev) or

(Stepichev), who suggested depriving the servicemen of food supplies. It is almost the unanimous opinion of the servicemen that these lofty words together with a personal photograph of (Stepichev) be sent to all the mothers of the soldiers on the territory of the USSR. I suggest giving access to the television and radio, so that everybody's opinion be heard, to representatives of all the political tendencies and parties, including the servicemen. I propose setting up an independent control commission for the media to be subordinate, probably, to the legislature of the republic. We suggest honoring the laws of the USSR on universal military service, securing normal work of the military commissariats, conducting a call up of young men to the Army, returning the deserters from Latvia. Not bringing paratroopers into Latvia today shows the striving of the military district to resolve the situation and assist in its improvement.

We suggest dismissing various militarized detachments and the headquarters of some defense units set up recently. I think that for the Latvian Republic the headquarters of the Baltic Military District of the Red Banner is enough. It will solve all questions.

I propose carrying out measures to confiscate weapons from the population, to take under control all hunting weapons, to take under control the arms of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the customs service. I propose obliging the office of the public prosecutor of the Latvian Republic and the Ministry of Internal Affairs to fulfill the laws of the USSR and the decrees of the president.

We, servicemen, are stating that the Ministry of Internal Affairs, with Vazis at its head, is today a destabilizing force, which confronts the military directorate. The communist servicemen of the Baltic Military District, of other types of military units and arms of the service, stationed on the territory of Latvia—and there are several tens of thousands of us communists—are indignant at the criticism of the Communist Party, of which we are members. This is not stabilizing the situation. it should be recognized that there is such a party, there are communists and very many of them, including servicemen.

We would ask you to restore all the social rights of the servicemen and of the veterans of the military forces. Here Comrade Gorbunovs has already been talking about housing construction, proportional participation according to the incomes of the Latvian Republic, access to school and preschool institutions, employment of the wives of the servicemen, housing permits and other social problems.

You are hindering the work of military transport. We have now been sitting and discussing the questions, looking for points of contact, while conflicts have already taken place in some places, in particular on the road to Elfgova, where a bloody confrontation nearly took place. Some customs services and bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are to blame. Thanks to Major (Zvany), who showed composure and did not use weapons, a confrontation did not take place. This is, I think, in our interests.

Esteemed colleagues, making use of such a big audience, I want to say that the servicemen on the territory of Latvia, will not be second rate. Those, who think this, are deeply mistaken. All the servicemen will defend their rights. They will stand up for their rights. They are full of determination, together with the Latvian people, with political forces, organizations, and formations, to find a common dialogue, to find ways of closing the positions, of preventing bloody events, to defuse the situation, to live peacefully in a democratic state in a sovereign Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Thank you for your attention.

Yeltsin, Gorbunovs Sign Latvian-RSFSR Treaty

LD1401215591 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1200 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Here is some information from the Press Center of the Supreme Council of the republic on a treaty between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and the Republic of Latvia.

Late yesterday evening in Tallinn there was an unexpected but pleasing turn of events for us in this alarming situation. Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Boris Yeltsin signed a treaty on foundations for interstate relations between the RSFSR and the Republic of Latvia. It recognizes that each of the parties has the inalienable right to state independence. The RSFSR and the Republic of Latvia recognize each other as sovereign states and subject to international law, and also recognize each other's right to implement their state sovereignty in any form chosen by them. The RSFSR and the Republic of Latvia possess full legislative, executive, and judicial powers on their territories.

The senior contracting parties guarantee to their citizens, irrespective of nationality or other differences, equal rights and liberties. The contracting parties respect each other's right to territorial integrity in accordance with the principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The parties undertake to prohibit by means of legislation the formation of, and to halt the activity on their territories of organizations and groups which have as their aim the violent destruction of the independence and sovereign statehood of the other contracting party and the violent seizure of power. The RSFSR and the Republic of Latvia consider it advisable to exchange plenipotentiary representatives between the contracting parties. The economic links between the RSFSR and the Republic of Latvia are to be regulated by treaties on the basis of the principle of most favored status.

The present treaty is subject to ratification by the Supreme Soviets of the two republics. Exchange of ratification documents will take place in the city of

Moscow. The present treaty comes into force on the day of exchange of these documents.

The treaty is to run for a period of 10 years. Its action after that can be automatically extended for a period, if neither of the parties declare their renunciation of the treaty.

Communists Call for Government Resignation

LD1401112591 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga January 14 TASS—The policy pursued by the Latvian legislature and government has brought the republic to the brink of political crisis and economic chaos, according to participants in the plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which ended late on Sunday.

For nearly six hours communists discussed the situation in the republic and the party's actions to restore constitutional order. Latvian party leader Alfred Rubiks made a report.

Participants in the plenum supported demands by work collectives and strike committees for the disbandment of the legislature and local councils, the resignation of the government, the holding of new elections and the abolition of laws and resolutions inconsistent with the USSR and Latvian SSR constitutions and decrees of the Soviet president.

The plenum demanded the suspension of the Latvian Government resolution to raise retail prices for goods and services until the passage of a law on income indexation and compensation of citizens' expenses and on the protection of the labour market.

If the legislature refuses to disband and the government refuses to resign, the plenum stressed the need to call on the All-Latvian Public Salvation Committee to take all state power in Latvia until the election of a new legislature.

Anti-popular and anti-constitutional decisions, grossly violating human rights, it was said at the plenum, "lead to a critical confrontation in society, threatening civil peace".

The current republican leadership is further aggravating the situation, according to communists.

It has lost control over developments and is trying to shift responsibility to the legislative opposition represented by the Ravnopraviye faction and the Latvian Communist Party.

The resolution of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum supported the demand of many industrial collectives and public organizations to (?introduce) presidential rule in Latvia.

It has been decided to ask President Mikhail Gorbachev about this. The proposal to hold a general strike on January 15 was also supported.

Participants in the plenum discussed a statement by the Presidium of the Russian legislature and Russian President Boris Yeltsin's speech about the situation in Lithuania.

Communists consider them "one-sided and harming the development of political processes of democratisation in the Baltics and the country".

The plenum endorsed the proposal by Latvian President Anatoliy Gorbunovs about talks to seek ways to take the republic out of the crisis. The roundtable meeting is scheduled for today.

Salvation Committee Supports Demand

LD1401215691 Berlin ADN in German 2125 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—A Latvian "Committee for National Salvation," following the Lithuanian pattern, called today for the government to resign and threatened to take power. According to the news agency BALTFAX, Oyars Botreki, secretary of the pro-Moscow Latvian Communist Party, called on behalf of the committee for the Latvian legislature to be dissolved and for the price rises imposed by the government to be withdrawn. Should the demands not be met by tomorrow, the "Salvation Committee" threatened to take power in the republic. The ultimatum was made this morning at a meeting between the Latvian President Anatoliy Gorbunovs and representatives of various political parties.

According to BALTFAX, the "Committee for National Salvation" is led by Alfred Rubiks, the head of the Latvian Communist Party. The committee also includes representatives of various organizations which support Latvia remaining in the USSR.

'Equal Rights' Faction Blames Extremists

LD1401235191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1251 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 14 Jan (TASS)—The "Equal Rights" opposition faction of the Latvian legislature today accused "some extremist political circles" of aspiring "to subvert civic peace in the republic and to put the Communist Party of Latvia outside the law." These words were heard in an appeal to the peoples of Latvia broadcast by the "Sodruzhestvo" [community].

Profiting from the tense situation in Lithuania, the document says, these circles are trying to "scatter the hotbeds of destabilization around the whole Soviet Union and to lay the responsibility for the consequences of their decisions on the Communists and on the Armed Forces of the USSR."

The deputies of the faction see the path to normalizing the situation in fulfilling all the decrees of the USSR president. The faction considers it essential to repeal the price rises for foodstuffs and to adopt a Supreme Council decision declaring all the permanent residents to be citizens of Latvia.

The deputies proposed the setting-up of a council of public accord with an equal number of representatives of the Latvian Popular Front and the "Equal Rights" Factions, and also a change in the make-up of the republic's cabinet ministers with the aim of creating a government of public confidence.

Some of the proposals by the faction have found support with Anatoliy Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia, but their implementation depends to a large extent on the position of the majority representing the Latvian Popular Front in the legislature.

Latvians Urged To Help Soldiers Hear Broadcasts

LD1401101191

[Editorial report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 0830 GMT on 14 January broadcasts a request from the People's Front of Latvia for the people of Riga to switch on their radios and to place them at open windows, especially near Army units and also where people are guarding sites. The Front also asks stores, hairdressers, and other establishments to retune their radios from Mayak radio to the Riga-1 transmitters.

Troops Fire Warning Shots in Riga 15 Jan

LD1501085791 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The BALTFAX news agency reports from neighboring Latvia that the situation in the capital, Riga, of that republic, is coming to a boiling point. Thousands of citizens are demonstrating to protest the Lithuanian bloodshed. Riga's mayor has appealed to the population to put off the action to avoid disturbances, or to hold it in the suburbs. According to BALTFAX, Interior Ministry troops have given several warning shots to stop citizens from putting up barricades. A convoy has been stopped of trucks bound for Riga with sand for building barricades.

'Black Berets' Attack Riga Militia School

LD1501063491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0600 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] At the request of our listeners, information on the past night in Latvia: According to the information of operative services received at the People's Front of Latvia coordination centre, the night in Latvia on the whole passed comparatively peacefully. Heavy army movements and conflicts between groups of inhabitants were not been observed. We have been informed about the only incident tonight, the attack on the Riga militia school. The militia's special tasks' units, the so-called Black Berets, were involved. Late last night, combatants from the same units also carried out a bandit-like attack on drivers of trucks and tractors who were guarding bridges in Riga. Equipment was damaged.

With great enthusiasm, many inhabitants of Latvia are guarding more important objects in Riga, the buildings of the Supreme Council, the Council of Ministers, the radio and the television, and also the communications centres. Thank you for your endurance!

More on Soviet Militia Actions

AU1501080391 Paris AFP in English 0022 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, Jan 15 (AFP)—Soviet Interior Ministry "Black Beret" special units fired in the air before burning two barricades of trucks and tractors late Monday in the Latvian capital Riga, the unofficial Baltic news agency BALTFAX reported.

Latvians, fearing an intervention by the Soviet Army similar to the one over the weekend in Vilnius, Lithuania, in which 14 people died and over 150 were injured, started late Sunday to barricade access to the old town and official buildings with heavy vehicles.

A pro-Moscow Latvian "National Salvation Committee" gave the democratically elected government and parliament an ultimatum to resign by midday on Tuesday.

The "Black Berets" fired in the air to frighten off the drivers guarding the barricades before setting light to the vehicles, 18 of which were destroyed, BALTFAX said.

Another Interior Ministry unit stopped a convoy of trucks taking sand to Riga to build barricades. The militiamen beat up the drivers, let down the trucks' tires and punctured the petrol tanks, the agency said.

Army Unit Reportedly Refuses To Go to Riga

LD1501110791 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1000 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] A Soviet Army unit, transferred from Belorussia to Latvia, has refused to advance to Riga, according to a Soviet Army officer speaking on Latvian radio. The information, broadcast in a Latvian radio program, was reported by a representative of the Latvian Information Office in Stockholm to the TT news agency. TT says that the Soviet officer said on Latvian radio that the unit, transferred from Vitebsk in Belorussia, did not obey the order to go to Riga last night. It is reported that the troops in the unit fear that Soviet troops would be transferred to Riga from elsewhere in Latvia. According to the Latvian Information Office representative, these incidents indicate for the first time that there is resistance in the ranks of the Soviet Army.

Government Warns of Coup in 24-48 Hours

LD1501015991 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 2307 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Statement by the Government of the Republic of Latvia—read by announcer]

[Text] To the governments of the countries of the world and of republics of the Soviet Union. Events in the Baltic region are entering a tragic and decisive stage. Reactionary circles of the CPSU, with the support of the Armed Forces of the USSR and in disregard of any rules and moral norms, are preparing a bloody coup: the elimination of the existing constitutional order of the Baltic states.

According to information at the disposal of the Government of the Latvian Republic, such a coup in the Baltic region may be carried out within the next 24-48 hours. Formations of internal troops under the control of the central authorities of the USSR have started acts of sabotage and disarming Latvia's militia, thus hampering the government's chances to maintain public order and to curb gangs of hooligans which are presently being formed by opponents of the legitimate government.

Despite the fact that at the grand demonstration held on 13 January the Government of Latvia was supported by approximately one-quarter of Latvia's population and that this has been confirmed in writing by more than a million representatives of the most varied nationalities, aggressive forces of the Communist Party are prepared to use any means to restore totalitarian dictatorship. Such actions will inevitably involve violence, even bloodshed, with renewed enslavement of the people.

Confirmation of the impending danger is to be found in the policy which is currently being implemented by the leaders of the USSR Government. In addition to this, the greater part of the USSR's mass media is knowingly disseminating disinformation about the processes taking place in the Baltic region, thus leading the public of the Soviet Union and the world astray.

At this threatening hour, we appeal to all peoples and governments to prevent another Kuwait, to come out against a bloody international crime in the Baltic region. We ask all who hold dear common human values and the ideas of humanity and democracy to act in a united front against reaction and to support the right of the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to survival and restoration of their statehood by democratic means.

That was an appeal from the Government of the Latvian republic, adopted 14 January 1991 at 2000.

Gorbachev Seeks 'Purely Political' Baltic Solution

LD1401160591 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1521 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] The information service of the Latvian Government reports: A telegram has been received by telephone from Moscow, from the permanent representative of the republic of Latvia, Janis Peters. It says:

From reliable sources it has become known that Anatoliy Kovalev, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, has summoned Matlock, U.S. ambassador to Moscow, and five other western ambassadors. Kovalev informed them: President Gorbachev is trying to do everything to solve the problems of Lithuania by purely political methods.

We add for ourselves that unfortunately, there are no guarantees that he will succeed in this.

Gorbachev Reportedly Meets Latvian Officials

LD1501055891 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0343 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] We have received this report from Moscow; at the request of Janis Petars, permanent representative of the Latvian Republic in Moscow, yesterday, immediately after the plenary sitting of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Janis Petars and Nikolay Neilands, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, met with Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR president, and Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Janis Petars briefed the USSR president on the million-strong popular demonstration that took place in Riga on 13 January, and spoke about measures being adopted by the republic's government and legislature to achieve civil unity in Latvia. He also expressed concern about the counterdemonstration planned for 15 January. The top leader of the USSR (?assessed) the situation in the Baltic region as dangerous and (?proposed) a joint search for solutions to the problems that have come about at the negotiating table. Also discussed at the meeting were possibilities for holding talks between the USSR Government and that of the Latvian Republic, as soon as the new Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR, headed by Pavlov, former minister of finance, has been formed. President Mikhail Gorbachev put foward the idea that the time is not far away when a law will be adopted in the country on alternative service. [Words indistinct] agreed that it is possible to embark on work to define the status of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of Union republics.

Of course, (?one need not cherish any particular illusions) that the leadership that exists in the USSR at present is ready to hold talks with Latvia as a foreign state, Janis Petars noted.

For his part, Nikolay Neilands stated that in the event of a positive resolution of issues connected with the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the Baltic republics, the country's prestige will be considerably enhanced [words indistinct] states [words indistinct] Baltic (?sea region).

Anatoliy Lukyanov, by way of counter-argument, emphasized that among the Baltic republics, the greatest number of [words indistinct]. Last week the president and the country's Supreme Soviet received about 1,500 such (?letters). In reply, the representative of Latvia's government observed [words indistinct] nothing unusual. What is more, it is logical, since Latvia has suffered most among the Baltic states, and [word indistinct] rights [words indistinct] population are crudely ignored.

Latvian Minister on Intervention in Lithuania

AU1401133291 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Interview with Latvian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri by Juergen Detlevsen; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Detlevsen] Minister Meri, the situation in Vilnius, Riga, and also in Tallinn has become quiet again. Is this peace deceptive or is the danger over? Do you expect another strike by the Soviet troops in a few days?

[Meri] The peace is certainly deceptive. Nevertheless, we do not expect another strike by the Soviet troops. I think that this aggression against the Baltic States and the bloodbath may have taught the extremists in the USSR a lesson, and that it has become clear that political issues cannot be solved with tanks. It is possible to solve all political questions with legislative means.

[Detlevsen] This leads to the question of where Gorbachev stands in this matter. Do you think that it is still possible to discuss matters with Gorbachev in this connection?

[Meri] Well, for me this is both a practical and philosophical question. Russia, that is to say the Soviet Union [words indistinct], will have a future if it turns to a democratic future, and to the open market economy. If this happens through Gorbachev, then Gorbachev will have a future. If this is not the case and if it turns out that this bloodbath in Lithuania was caused on the orders of Gorbachev, well, then we will face a different reality. Then I am really sorry, because Gorbachev has become a person who [word indistinct] to history. He started with reform, and it might be his tragedy that he got stuck half way.

Latvian Communists Back Call for Presidential Rule

PM1501093991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Riga, 14 Jan—The policy pursued by the incumbent Supreme Soviet and its government has brought Latvia to political crisis and economic chaos. This was the conclusion reached by all participants in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum that ended late last night. For roughly six hours the communists discussed the situation in the republic and the Latvian Communist Party's actions to restore constitutional order. A. Rubiks, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report.

It was noted at the plenum that anti-people and anticonstitutional decisions in flagrant violation of human rights have brought about critical confrontation in society, jeopardizing the preservation of civic peace. In the communists' opinion, the republic's incumbent leadership is increasingly exacerbating the situation by its actions. It has lost control over the development of events and is trying to shift responsibility onto the parliamentary opposition represented by the "Equal Rights" Faction and the Latvian Communist Party.

The Central Committee plenum defined the Latvian Communist Party's actions in these conditions with a view to averting a tragic sociopolitical conflict in the republic.

The plenum also demanded the suspension of the Latvian Council of Ministers resolution on raising commodity retail prices.

It was stressed that, if the Supreme Soviet refuses to disband and the government refuses to resign, the All-Latvian Public Salvation Committee should be asked to "assume the full state power of governing the republic until the election of a new Supreme Soviet."

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum resolution backs the demand by many production collectives and public organizations for presidential rule to be introduced on the territory of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. It has been decided to submit this proposal to the USSR president. It also backed the strike committees' proposal to hold a general political strike. It is scheduled for 15 January.

The plenum participants condemned the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium statement and B. Yeltsin's speech regarding the situation in Lithuania.

At the same time the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum adopted the proposal from A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, for talks aimed at seeking a way out of the crisis in the republic. There is a "roundtable" meeting scheduled for today.

Latvians Urged To Avoid 'Provocative' Activity

LD1501095591 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0653 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Appeal by Deputy Girts Kristovskis to the people of Latvia—live]

[Text] [Kristovskis] Good morning, inhabitants of Latvia. The second tense night has passed, and the commission that we have formed at the Supreme Soviet, that is, the Supreme Soviet's defense headquarters, has, after a tense night, after tense work, authorized me to address all the inhabitants of Latvia with the following appeal.

As Anta Busa [announcer] already mentioned here, a plenary sitting will begin in a few minutes' time. As you know, we are in confrontation situations, the inhabitants of Latvia are in big confrontation situations, and because of that many are greatly worried that today, precisely today, we shall not succeed in avoiding this physical confrontation.

However, it is hoped that this last night will have borne fruit and produced results for our work. These may of course be confirmed here at the plenary sitting. Therefore I call upon all the inhabitants of the republic, all the people standing on both sides, to follow the work of this sitting, and until the end of the sitting to avoid any kind of physical response, any kind of provocative activity. I also appeal to the citizens standing here on the barricades, and to the people defending our parliament, not to carry out provocations in the events of any Army units appearing here in the vicinity. Perhaps even, to a certain extent, during the sitting, give them an opportunity of peacefully passing by.

Anti-Government Rally Planned in Riga 15 Jan

Deputies Express Concern

LD1501102691 Berlin ADN in German 0940 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—Deputies of the Latvian legislature have described the situation in Riga this morning as "alarming". At the moment, the Supreme Soviet is discussing the situation in the Baltic republic. Several speakers expressed concern about the rally planned by anti-government forces, which is to be held at the sports stadium of the Riga Army Sports Club near the city center this afternoon. A spokeswoman of the legislature's press office told the Moscow ADN office that the streets of the city are calm but tense. At the moment there are no Army movements. However, it is noticeable that posts of the Soviet Army's traffic police have been set up at many crossroads. [passage omitted]

Gorbunovs Calls for Restraint

LD1501113491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0901 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Speech by Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, at the Supreme Soviet session in Riga—live]

[Text] Esteemed people of Latvia, I would like to thank you all for that peacefulness which you are preserving, those who are here in the old city of Riga and on the streets, and those who ensure the existence of our Republic of Latvia at their places of work.

I would like to inform you that in this difficult time I am regularly maintaining contacts with all public and political organizations of Latvia, paying a special attention to the leadership of the Baltic Military District.

Also at this moment, during talks with Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, we jointly, both of us, concluded that the situation in Latvia is tense, however, intervention by the Army is not necessary for its normalization.

Military District Commander Kuzmin confirmed to me that the Army has no plans for a military coup.

The Supreme Soviet, in turn, endeavoring constructively to solve the Army's problems, has just suspended the resolution of 14 November, taking into consideration that talks with the Army have begun and we shall certainly continue this dialogue.

Neverthless, the political confrontation in society continues.

As is known, at 1500 today an alternative meeting is being organized. The organizers of this meeting have decided to move it from the old city to the army sports club stadium.

Wishing for the most normal possible development of the situation, I strongly appeal to the people of Riga to place no obstacles to the holding of this meeting. By this we shall only confirm that we know how to listen to various viewpoints if these are expressed in a democratic form.

The demonstrators will proceed to the stadium along the central streets of Riga. Therefore I strongly request all drivers to clear the streets and pavements in the direction of the stadium. In the first place, this concerns the bridges of the Daugava, the viaducts, and streets leading to the stadium.

Please do not hamper the movement of columns. The least provocation could end dramatically.

It seems to me that at this moment the best thing would be to make use of what has already been tested in practice, the experience of the People's Front: to refrain from unnecessary curiosity and emotions, and especially by way of catchwords and slogans.

The legislature is continuing its work. The main thing we will do will be to examine the questions connected with a way out of the crisis situation. I hope that we shall find a way out, both from the economic and political crises.

Esteemed people of Latvia, we strongly depend on you for understanding of this situation, peacefulness, and self-control.

Daugavpils Communists Call for Strike 15 Jan

LD1501000191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1521 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] At the Daugavpils City Party Committee today directors of enterprises, institutions, and schools held a meeting. Zharkov, first secretary of the city party committee, called on them to declare a strike tomorrow. A rally is planned for 1100 on the central square. With the participation of a number of deputies, a draft resolution has been in preparation for some days now. It will be submitted to the participants in the rally. The demands are: the resignation of the government, stabilization of the economy, dissolution of the legislature, and introduction of presidential rule in Daugavpils.

Our correspondent asked the Union of Free Trade Unions of Latvia for a reaction. We call on the working people of Daugavpils and the entire republic not to strike, declared (Brigitta Abitja), deputy chair person of the trade union. It is a question not only of a strike in Daugavpils but of the strike movement in principle, she stressed. Back in December, and then in January, the council adopted recommendations to work forces not to strike at this complex time for Latvia.

300 Enterprises To Join Strike

LD1501131691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] As our own correspondent reported, last night passed calmly in Riga. Gorbunovs, chairman of the [Latvian] Supreme Soviet, spoke on republican radio this morning. He said he is holding constant consultations with all political forces. The republic's Supreme Soviet has suspended the 14 November decision on the impermissibility of the activity of detachments of special-purpose militia and of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the Latvian Republic which, in particular, envisioned the cessation of social and material support for the USSR Armed Forces stationed in Latvia and for organizations of the CPSU. The republic's Supreme Soviet is continuing to examine matters relating to finding a way out of the crisis. Three hundred enterprise of Riga, Daugavpils, and other cities have responded to the appeal by the republican strike committee to declare a general political strike. A general city rally is planned for 1500.

Work Resumes at Riga Publications House

PM1401095691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent I. Litvinova: "House of the Press Begins Work"]

[Text] Riga—Printing plant workers at the House of the Press in Riga are gradually beginning work. The central newspapers have come out, and 10 January saw the first issue of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA this year. The newspaper CINA is being prepared for publication.

Events at the House of the Press have unfortunately been surrounded by improbable rumors and conjectures. Let us dispel some of them. On entering the House of the Press I presented my press credentials, as I would at any other institution in the republic. They let me in. They did not search my bag or question me. True, the "berets" have submachine guns. But several days before the strenthening of control at the House of the Press, people with submachine guns had taken control of the television and radio building on the orders of the republic minister of internal affairs. Noone, to be objective, said that they could not work "at gunpoint." During those days, according to the government newspaper DIENA, an armed detachment was on an exercise in the republic Council of Ministers building. What kind of attack it was preparing to rebuff was, admittedly, not stated. But the reinforced guard at the Council of Ministers building remained. Again, to be objective, none of the staffers objected and the press did not make a fuss.

The next rumor—about wages of 1,500 rubles for "strikebreakers" at the House of the Press. Those who turned up for work—and there were dozens of them—did not even receive their usual wages for December. No "special pay" was provided. In very difficult conditions of moral pressure and despite open opposition, the printing workers fulfilled their professional duty and managed to organize the production of newspapers.

Another conjecture is that the new leadership is expelling troublemakers from work at the House of the Press. There is an announcement on the doors of the publishing house: "Comrades! Printing plant workers who wish to continue to work at the publishing house are asked to make themselves known to the personnel department. [Signed] The administration." The House of the Press is prepared to publish even a major Russian-language newspaper which published under the banner headline "Red Terror" four pages of wild fantasy about events at the House of the Press. The publishing house leadership has again confirmed that it does not intend to subject publications to unlawful censorship.

It is also not true that only printing workers of non-Latvian nationality have turned up for work. True, it is far more difficult for the Latvians to return to normal work: Considerable pressure is being put on them. Nonetheless many of them have resumed work.

Those who have decided not to return to the House of the Press are also gradually organizing the production of their publications, mainly on the basis of rayon printing plants. A general meeting of journalists and printing workers decided to build an alternative publishing house. Great hopes are pinned on aid from Western countries. As Daynis Ivans, first deputy chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, has stated on television, equipment and paper have been promised. The proposed startup date for the alternative publishing house varies—between six months and a year.

A resolution adopted by a meeting of staffers at the House of the Press held on 7 January contains an appeal to the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs—"To embark immediately on drawing up options for the formation at the printing plant of a lease enterprise or joint-stock company with the collective holding at least 51 percent of the incorporation capital (shares)." Another option envisaged is that of setting up a joint enterprise with a foreign firm, without the collectives buying the fixed capital.

Estonia

Ruutel Denies Accusations of Causing 'Fear'

LD1401213891 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1015 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Remarks by Israelyan, Estonian Supreme Soviet deputy, and Arnold Ruutel, Estonian Supreme Soviet chairman, at the Estonian Supreme Soviet session in Tallinn on 14 January—live]

[Excerpts] [Israelyan] Esteemed Chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The analysis of your speech, of your speech yesterday as well as the analysis of the television appearance by members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet evokes amazement. The tone of all these speeches is aimed at causing fear among the population. This has also been strengthened by the establishment of the Salvation [Defense] committee of the three top personalities in the republic. And all those who have spoken here have reported calmly that if it is not possible to convene the Presidium or anything else, then they can appoint their followers to act for them. However, in this connection the following question arises: Is this the true state of affairs in Estonia? Is the situation quite so bad? This could not have been understood from your report. And for whom is it useful to organize this type of campaigning around the events which you are assuming—assuming, this I emphasize. And why, namely, are such events assumed to be possible? For whom is it then useful to frighten the Estonian people and to sow panic among them even beforehand?

[Ruutel] [sentence indistinct] Indeed I cannot say that I have dramatized the situation in Estonia. Events began when I received a telephone call at 0300. And starting from 0300 I do not know how many dozen telephone calls I have received on my own home telephone. And this is how the events transpired. And if in Lithuania force had not been used it would not have been possible to show specifically on television what was taking place there. So, the situation was dramatized by what was done in Lithuania; the rest proceeded from this.

The people simply turned to me and asked: What will become of the Estonian situation. They asked this because previously—already beginning with December of last year—we all know how much talk there was that force would be used. And now it has come, as in the Lithuania. At the same time, the [USSR] defense minister had said, and we also know this from the presidential decree, that the Army was given the right to use arms even if a soldier is offended.

Well, can you imagine the situation, for example, if I had a gun and you were to offend me and I could use, that is, I could shoot you for this? Just think of the legal principles expressed in this. [passage omitted on Ruutel's unsuccessful attempts to phone Gorbachev]

The Presidium sat all day, with only a few 20-minute breaks, because nobody knew. There was also a threat that paratroopers would arrive in Estonia on 13 January. So, the threat was very specific and, hence, this situation. Neither I, nor the Estonian leadership at any level, have invented any of this ourselves, nor have we created this situation. [passage omitted]

Ruutel Discusses Forming Estonian Army

LD1501034391 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Interview with Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia, by unidentified correspondent; at the Supreme Soviet in Tallinn—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] [passage omitted] Is it realistic—and you are a realist—is it realistic proceeding from the positions of internal politics, proceeding from Estonian domestic policy as a whole, proceeding from USSR domestic policy, as well as proceeding from external factors and foreign aspects, to speak of an army on the territory of Estonia? Has it been calculated how much it will cost? Do you have in mind setting up an Estonian army?

[Ruutel] [passage omitted] I am convinced that we have no need to set up a big army; it will be minimal, simply to defend the state and the state borders. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Esteemed Mr. President! I thought for a very long time about to whom I should ask this question, and then decided that I should ask you, since you are the top person in the Republic of Estonia. Please explain to me why there is quite a large number, hundreds, of young people in Kodukaitse [Defense League] uniforms up on the third floor of this building? Who has invited them here, and are they not here with the aim of safeguarding authorization from the speaker of the Supreme Soviet?

[Ruutel] [passage omitted on 15 May 1990 riot which prompted establishment of Kodukaitse] Following from this, the idea emerged that there was a need to set up at least some kind of units which are truly subject to orders of the Council of Ministers and the republican bodies of power, because at that time very many units were not set up like that at all. Elementary order, order, has indeed to be observed. Hence this same Kodukaitse. For this reason, it is here, because in the course of the past few days there has been a whole string of threats and we are not sure that there will not be force used.

These young men are not armed, so this is especially symbolic. They are simply people who, well, in a specific situation, should there be danger to the lives of deputies and to order here in Toompea, they might still assist in maintaining order. There are no other aims of any other kind. I repeat once more that they have no arms. Even the militia, militia workers who have been asked to come here, are not armed either. I gave an order, fully consciously, that not one person must be armed, even those who have a license to carry arms and who have access to arms. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Official Arrives in Estonia

LD1401125991 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Tallinn January 14 ETA-TASS—Deputy Chief of Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces Grigoriy Krivosheyev arrived in Tallinn today.

In accordance with the agreement between Estonian Premier Edgar Savisaar and Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, he and Estonian officials will discuss relationships between the Army and the republic within the framework of the joint commission of the Soviet Defense Ministry and the Estonian Government.

Tallinn Rally Expresses Solidarity With Lithuania

LD1401211791 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Tallinn January 14 ETA-TASS—A rally was held today at Tallinn's Freedom Square on the initiative of the Estonian Popular Front.

Participants expressed solidarity with the Lithuanian people and grieved over the death of innocent people in Vilnius. Speakers, including people of various nationalaities, supported the striving of people in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia for state independence. They denounced the use of armed force.

Estonian President Arnold Ruutel and Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar attended the rally.

Price Reductions Demanded

AU1501111091 Paris AFP in English 1109 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, Jan 15 (AFP)—More than 5,000 people staged an anti-independence march outside the Estonian Parliament Tuesday and demanded that all price increases in the republic since last October be dropped, an Estonian Foreign Ministry official reached by telephone said. He said the Estonian government decided to suspend any new price increases in a bid to defuse tension, but that increases already in effect since mid-October would remain. The march had been organized by pro-Russian movements but quickly dispersed, he said.

The Estonian economy minister, Jak Leiman, was quoted by the TASS news agency as saying that the government's decision "to freeze prices temporarily is a purely political measure that will not help improve the republic's economic situation."

In the move towards economic reform, Estonia raised the price of milk and meat and other items starting last October, while taxes were also increased by 10 per cent. [passage omitted]

20,000-30,000 Demonstrate

LD1401184791 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Estonians have demonstrated in favor of Lithuania and supported the policy of their own government. In Tallinn meetings of a joint commission of Estonia and the Soviet Union have begun. They are discussing the position of the Soviet Army in Estonia.

[Correspondent Halinew] At exactly 1500 here in Estonia, demonstrations began commemorating and supporting Lithuania. Here in Freedom Square in Tallinn 20,000-30,000 people are gathered. There are Estonian blue-black-white flags which all have black mourning bands. In addition, there are some Lithuanian flags and I have even seen a Hungarian flag. The speeches have expressed support for Lithuania, its legal government, and opposed the actions of the Soviet Army. There has also been support for the Estonian Government here. Many people are holding lit candles. There are many placards saying, among other things: "Hands off the Baltics;" "Red fascists go home;" "Freedom for the Baltic states;" "World, do not forget the Baltics, Do not let Red terror be repeated;" "Tanks into tractors, [words indistinct]."

The expressions in the Freedom Square were serious, the Estonians still fear that the Lithuanian events can also be repeated here in Estonia. Contrary to Lithuania and Latvia, Estonia still has some kind of dialogue contact with the Soviet leadership. Today a delegation of the Soviet Ministry of Defense, led by Lieutenant General Krivosheyev, arrived in Tallinn. Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov and Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar decided last week to establish a joint commission to examine the position of the Soviet Army in Estonia and other military matters, including the call-up of conscripts and the position of Estonian military deserters and civilian servicemen. In the afternoon this commission held its first session here in Tallinn. Lt. Gen. Krivosheyev said in an Estonian television interview that he had nothing against civilian service, but everything should happen in accordance with the Soviet Constitution; in other words, the USSR Supreme Soviet should first pass a law on it. The conflict arises from the fact that the Estonians have their own civilian service law which they want to observe. [passage omitted]

Antti Halinen, Tallinn.

[Announcer] Prime Minister Savisaar said today that the Estonian Government is considering freezing prices and wages. It is expected to knock the bottom out of the demonstration by the Russian Inter Movement tomorrow, whose main theme officially is opposition to price rises.

Estonia To Freeze Prices Until Reforms Enacted

LD1501043691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1816 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Tallinn, 14 Jan (TASS)—Starting Tuesday, 15 January, prices in Estonia will be frozen. A decision to that effect has been made by the republic's government. It applies to all purchasing prices and tariffs for services, and also to all forms of enterprises.

Peeter Tamistu, general director of the prices department speaking at a news conference held by the government, stressed that this is a purely political decision, which is absurd from an economic perspective. Prices will remain frozen until the USSR leadership carries out reforms of purchasing prices. This will inevitably happen in a few weeks.

Peeter Tammistu does not rule out the possibility that as a result of the decision taken by the government the last goods will vanish from the shelves of the shops.

Deputies Urge 'Prudence' at Legislature Session

LD1401183491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Heymar Lenk on the Estonain Supreme Soviet session]

[Text] Immediately after the opening of the session, deputies began discussing the chief issue—the political situation in the republic. Although it is, for the time being, calm on the streets of Tallinn, there is tension in the air, as they say. It appeared on 7 January immediately after Estonian radio broadcast the notification of the command of the Baltic Military district on bringing additional military subunits onto the territory of Estonia. This tension eased slightly after Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar's meeting with USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, at which an accord was reached on the formation of a joint commission of the USSR Defense Ministry and the Estonian Government. This commission started work in Tallinn today. The task of the commission is to assist in improving relations between the civilian population and servicemen in the republic.

As you know, the subunits of the Soviet Army in Estonia have often been called occupationist. A rally of thousands was held in Tallin today in support of the Lithuanian people and the policy of the government of the Lithuanian Republic, officially elected by the people. Late yesterday evening, a meeting was held in Tallinn between the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and the Russian Federation. A statement on the tragic events in Lithuania and an appeal to the UN secretary general were adopted. Boris Yeltsin appealed to the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic republics.

Speaking today to the population of Estonia, deputies of the Supreme Soviet appealed to everyone to show prudence and calm. Deputies expressed their disapproval of the actions by the Armed Forces in Lithuania and their support for the Lithuanian people, and also the hope that there will be no repetition of such events in Estonia.

Tallinn Soldiers Oppose Yeltsin Appeal

LD1401201391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1920 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn, 14 January (TASS)—The appeals by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, to servicemen called up from Russia and who are now stationed in the Baltics as well as to the Russian-speaking population of this region have been negatively received by the Tallinn garrison.

At a meeting of officers, warrant officers, and ensigns which took place in the local house of officers today, a resolution was adopted which noted in particular that the documents signed by Boris Yeltsin and the heads of the Baltic republics absolutely do not take into account the opinion of the Russian-speaking population living in the Baltics. Boris Yeltsin did not even find time to meet their representatives before deciding the destinies of hundreds of thousands of people, the document notes.

Participants in the meeting called Boris Yeltsin's appeal to Russian servicemen—in which he stated that the dispatch of Russians outside the boundaries of the republic was "illegal"—provocative.

Estonia Sees 'Open Conflict' as 'Inevitable'

PM1401203591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent L. Levitskiy: "Tallinn: Statement by Heads of Four Republics"]

[Text] On the night of Sunday-Monday the Supreme Soviet chairmen of Latvia, Russia, and Estonia and Lithuania's permanent representative in Estonia addressed the UN secretary general from Tallinn. They proposed holding an international conference without delay on settling the problem of the Baltic states and, in this connection, deferring the fulfillment of the UN resolution on Iraq and the events in the Persian Gulf.

Another document was adopted at the meeting in Tallinn: a joint statement by the four republics. The sides emphasized the inadmissibility of using armed force to resolve internal problems. The statement also frankly declared that citizens of these republics—Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, and Estonia—must not participate in armed actions detrimental to the state sovereignty of any of them. The republic heads called for "condemnation of acts of armed violence against the Baltic states' independence which threaten democracy and stability in the USSR and in the international community."

Making use of a live television and radio relay, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin addressed the Russian-speaking population and the Army. Pointing out that there are many serious problems, he called for them to be resolved with the help of logic, not emotion, with the help of a dialogue, not confrontation.

At a brief news conference B. Yeltsin was asked whether he is counting on the adopted documents to avert a confrontation in Latvia and Estonia.

"I am not an idealist, and I realize that this is just one of the urgent and essential political steps. The country's leadership must feel that a confrontation in the Baltic region is too dangerous...."

The news conference was held in an atmosphere of enhanced vigilance. The heads of state were separated from journalists by a chain of Estonian guards. In the break, when Russian-speaking Estonian Supreme Soviet deputies secured a brief meeting with Boris Nikolayevich, central newspaper correspondents were not allowed to be present.

However, an atmosphere of enhanced vigilance is characteristic of Tallinn today. The most important installations have been placed under increased protection. On Sunday the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decision to set up the Estonian Defense Council. Under emergency circumstances it is to replace both the presidium and the government. A. Ruutel was approved as chairman of the council, and Prime Minister E. Savisaar and Supreme Soviet Speaker J. Nugis as members.

Rumors of the appearance of paratroopers are being spread intensively. But no one has yet seen them, and official organs do not confirm this information. Newspapers have carried recommendations by the People's Front, the national independence party, and other organizations on how to behave now and if the situation is exacerbated.

Monday and Tuesday are days of mourning in Tallinn, days of solidarity with Lithuania. Rallies will be held on the initiative of the People's Front. A rally outside the government building on Toompea is scheduled for Tuesday. The organizer is the United Council of Labor Collectives and the Interregional Council of Deputies of all levels. V. Lebedev, its chairman, declared on republic television that the purpose of the rally is to demand a lowering of prices, the resignation of E. Savisaar's cabinet, and the creation of a coalition government of concord. If these demands are not met, a republic general strike will begin.

The situation has been exacerbated to the limit. All the sides are engaged in preparing for an open conflict as something inevitable, and nothing is being done to prevent it. I believe that what is most important today is to seek internal concord.

TASS Reports RSFSR-Baltics Joint Statement

LD1401125591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kharchenko and Albert Moloveryan]

[Text] Tallin, 14 Jan (TASS)—The situation that has taken shape in the Baltic republics was discussed today with Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet; Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. S. Hubarauskas, permanent representative of this republic in Estonia, represented Lithuania.

As the meeting ended, a joint statement was made which says among other things that "the recent actions of the USSR leadership in relation to the Baltic states have created a real threat to their sovereignty and have led to an escalation in violence and to human casualties."

The declaration stresses that the sides recognize each other's state sovereignty and that power is exercised on the territory of the signatory states solely by the lawfully elected bodies. "The operation of parallel structures which claim to exercise the functions of power is illegal."

Latvia, Lithuania, the Russian Federation, and Estonia consider "the use of their citizens in armed actions harming each other's state sovereignty to be unacceptable." The declaration also says the sides are ready "to assist one another in the event of a threat being made against their sovereignty."

The sides confirm their determination on developing relations "on the basis of the principles of international law and mutual agreements."

The participants in the meeting proposed that UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar should "stage, without delay, under the aegis of the United Nations Organization, an international conference on the settlement of the 'Baltic issues' and, in connection with this, postpone the deadline for the implementation of the UN resolution on the events in the Persian Gulf."

The signing of a treaty between Latvia and the RSFSR took place after the meeting. A news conference took place at which Boris Yeltsin said that neither Mikhail Gorbachev, nor Dmitriy Yazov "issued the command to shoot in Lithuania."

Yeltsin on Talks With Gorbachev

LD1401104691 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0718 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] A meeting of representatives of Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Russia ended in Tallin last night. A joint communique was signed. This recognizes the sovereignty of the sides and withholds recognition from all parallel power structures. The sides also condemn the use of military force in Lithuania.

Following the signing of the documents by Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Russia a news conference was held. I think that the answers given by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, are of most interest. He said that if the Soviet Union continues the violence, Russia will be forced to set up its own Armed Forces to protect not only its own territory but also neighboring territory.

Yeltsin met Gorbachev and Yazov on Sunday. They denied being responsible for the events in Lithuania. Yazov added that this decision could have been taken by the command of the Baltic Military District. Yeltsin expressed the view that a military coup in the Soviet Union could speed up the collapse of the Army itself and, therefore the Army leadership should not be interested in this. He concluded by answering the following question: Are the detachments that killed Lithuanian civilians under the control of Kryuchkov, the chairman of the KGB, if neither Gorbachev nor Yazov issued such orders? Yeltsin's answer: I am not saying that neither Gorbachev nor Yazov gave such orders. What I am saying is that they deny doing so.

Baltic, Russian Leaders Request UN Conference

LD1401091891 Moscow TASS in English 0647 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveriyan]

[Text] Tallinn January 14 TASS—Legislative heads of the three Baltic republics and the Russian Federation today sent a special message to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar calling for a U.N.-supported international conference to solve "the problems of the Baltic republics" and for extending the deadline under U.N. Security Council Resolution 678 of November 29, 1990 on the Gulf crisis.

They also signed a joint statement in Tallinn on the events in Lithuania, which they view as the encroachment on the sovereignty of the Baltic republics, provoking violence and loss of life.

Baltic Officials Arrive in Stockholm

LD1401173591 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] This morning, Latvia's and Lithuania's vice presidents together with the Estonian foreign minister arrived in Stockholm by boat from Tallinn. The Lithuanian vice president said that he is prepared to form a government-in-exile if the conditions in Lithuania are not normalized soon.

Lithuanian Vice President Kuzmickas will not return to Lithuania until the conditions in the country have stabilized, he says. If this does not happen soon, he is prepared to form a government-in-exile.

Latvian Vice President Dainis Ivans also arrived on board the ferry from Tallinn, and he, too, will form a Latvian government-in-exile if the Soviet troops have not been withdrawn within two weeks. He also said that one of his most important tasks during his visit to Stockholm, which will last for a couple of days, is to study the possibilities of radio broadcasts from Sweden to Latvia if Soviet troops act against Latvian radio and television.

[Begin Ivans recording in English] One very important thing for us is to negotiate about possibility of broadcasting from Sweden to Latvia in a situation when broadcasting in Latvia will be stopped and our station will be closed. [end recording]

Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri also arrived in Stockholm today. He wants to meet [Foreign Minister] Sten Andersson and discuss the possibilities of some form of international conference to prevent the Baltic from becoming a major conflict.

[Begin Meri recording in English] It could be an international conference, provided the Soviet Union is willing to attend it. It could be perhaps quiet diplomacy. We are quite open to discuss every approach. The only thing we know is that neither the Baltics nor Sweden are interested in having a major conflict zone here right in the heart of modern Europe. [end recording]

Address Rally on Events in Baltics

LD1401180291 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Today at 1200 church bells rang all over Sweden in support for the Baltic states. This was the first national ringing of church bells in the country for 45 years, and in many places the ringing of bells was also the start of various manifestations of support for the Baltic states. At Norrmalmstorg Square in Stockholm, the traditional Monday meeting was held with more participants and speakers than usual. Our reporter there is Willy Silberstein:

[Silberstein] It is a charged atmosphere here at Norrmalmstorg. The entire square is full of people; it is hardly possible to move, it is so crowded. It is reported that there are about 5,000 people at this meeting. Many have flags of the Baltic republic, and most of the flags are draped with black. And then there are placards with slogans: "Shame"; "USSR out of the Baltics"; and "Gorby, the Peace Prize has its price; leave the Baltics."

And this, the 45th Norrmalmstorg meeting, was introduced with a minute's silence following the weekend's bloody events in Lithuania.

Several Baltic politicians have spoken, among them Bronius Kuzmickas, vice president of Lithuania. He said there is great concern that the Lithuanian legislature will be attacked:

[Begin Kuzmickas recording in English] I am afraid that now, at this hour, an aggression can be continued and the Lithuanian legislature can be attacked. Lithuanians are too weak to stop an aggression and democratic forces in Baltic states are too weak to do this. World opinion must ask: Who is in answer, who gave an order to kill peaceful people? [end recording]

[Silberstein] Bronius Kuzmickas said that Lithuania is too weak itself to stand up against aggression by the Soviet Union, and he also said that therefore the rest of the world must do everything possible to help the Baltic states. Dainis Ivans, deputy premier [as heard] of Latvia, is also very worried about what is going to happen in Latvia.

[Begin Ivans recording in English] We do not know what will happen in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia tomorrow; but we know that the Red Army and the Communist Party are still ready to kill our children and women, and we hope that Sweden and other countries will help us to resolve the Baltic question in the forum of the European Conference of Peace and Security. [end recording]

[Silberstein] We do not know what will happen tomorrow, but we know that the Red Army has proved itself ready to kill our women and children, and we know that Sweden is ready to help us, said Dainis Ivans, deputy premier from Latvia.

Several Swedish party leaders have also spoken, among them Lars Werner of the Party of the Left, and in fact a number of demonstrators booed when he spoke. Among the speakers was Foreign Minister Sten Andersson:

[Begin Andersson recording] (?In) Sweden it is impossible to imagine a future (?Europe) in peace and cooperation without the full contribution of our eastern neighbors and the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. [applause] [end recording]

RSFSR

Yeltsin Holds News Conference in Moscow 14 Jan

Says Right Pressuring Gorbachev

LD1401175591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jan (TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, stated that the events in the Baltic are "the beginning of a powerful offensive against democracy." Speaking at a press conference in Moscow today, he voiced the view that as a result of the Baltic issue, serious pressure from the right is being exerted on the USSR president.

"Under the influence of certain forces, the country's leadership decided that it was difficult to solve our problems by democratic means and that one had to resort to tough measures," Boris Yeltsin said.

Answering a question about protecting the RSFSR's [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] sovereignty, the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet said that three conditions are required for this: to be vigilant every hour, to set up a Russian security committee and a Russian army, without which, in his view, the interests of the Russians can be encroached upon.

Concerning the problem of the conclusion of a new Union treaty, Boris Yeltsin pointed out that it is not the center but the republics themselves that should work on it and then sign it, and that this document should not be imposed from above.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia told journalists that four republics—Belorussia, Ukraine, Russia, and Kazakhstan—intend to sign a four-sided treaty among themselves.

The head of the Russian legislature read out the texts of the joint statement of the leadership of the Baltic republics and Russia on the recognition of mutual sovereignty, and also their appeal to the UN secretary general, containing the proposal to convene an international conference on a settlement of the "problem of the Baltic states." Boris Yeltsin also told journalists about his own appeal to servicemen conscripted into the army on the territory of the Russian Federation and now finding themselves in the Baltic republics. In this document he described as "illegal" "the sending of Russians beyond the confines of the republic and using them against the peaceful population."

Expresses Need for Russian Army

LD1401205791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Kraminov on news conference by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, at the Russian House of Soviet in Moscow on 14 January upon his return from the Baltic region; from the "Vremya" newscast—Yeltsin remarks are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Yeltsin] I have the impression that this is the beginning of a powerful offensive against democracy, and the Baltic republics are just the first of a number of other republics.

[Kraminov] Replying to journalists' questions, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation said inter alia:

[Yeltsin] We are increasingly arriving at the idea—this, of course, will be discussed in the Supreme Soviet and I am telling you this in a preliminary manner—that, after all, it seems that we will not be able to defend sovereignty without a Russian army.

[Kraminov] Naturally, the question of the attitude of the Russian leadership to the Russian-speaking population of the Baltic republics was also raised.

[Yeltsin] If certain forces are pushing them into such demonstrations, meetings and so on, well, we must express our position very frankly and say that we support democratically inclined forces, including those among Russian-speaking population. [applause]

[Kraminov] The news conference, as you can see for yourself, had something of the nature of a rally, with applause and shouts of approval from the hall where not only journalists but also members of the republican legislature were present. It is to be hoped that the position of the leadership of Russia, clearly expressed at this news conference, will help overcome the crisis in the Baltic region.

[The Vremya newscast at 1530 GMT on 14 January added that, at this news conference, "Yeltsin said that neither Gorbachev nor Yazov issued the order to shoot in Lithuania."]

Reads Baltics-RSFSR Statement

LD1401204691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Jan 91

[News conference by Boris Yeltsin, RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman, with unidentified correspondents, at the Russian House of Soviets in Moscow on 14 January—recorded]

[Text] [Yeltsin] the night before last, I spoke with Landsbergis several times—and also during the daytime—and we agreed to meet in order for us, Russia, to manifest our attitude to the events by some political act and also to support the republic's sovereignty and to prevent escalation, an escalation against democracy, something that can be seen from this fact itself. The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet met and decided not to let Landsbergis leave the building since that was not safe. We agreed that we should meet in Tallinn, that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic and a representative of Landsbergis would arrive there, too, and that the documents which would be prepared and signed by us, together with the chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, would then be faxed to Landsbergis. If he agreed, he would sign and forward them. This is the way it was done and the document, a statement of the four, was signed by all the chairmen.

Here is the statement: The latest actions by the Soviet leadership in relation to the Baltic states have created a real threat to their sovereignty and resulted in an escalation of violence and in casualties. Expressing the firm will of our peoples to preserve and strengthen the sovereignty proclaimed by the supreme bodies of state power, being aware of the reality of the threat of violence of the human rights of all those residing on the territory of the Baltic states, regardless of nationality, and proceeding from the conviction that our states' further development is only possible along the path of radical reforms based on freedom and democracy, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic [RSFSR], and the Estonian Republic make the following statement:

First, the sides recognize each other's state sovereignty.

Second, on the territory of the states which have signed this statement, plenary powers are implemented only by legitimately elected bodies of power. Actions of parallel structures claiming to implement plenary powers are illegal.

Third, the sides consider impermissible the use of armed force for solving any internal problems, except at the official request of the legitimately elected bodies of state power. Latvia, Lithuania, the Russian Federation and Estonia confirm their resolve to develop relations between our states on the basis of international law and mutually coordinated accords.

The above statement is presented to other international organizations, parliaments, and governments of the world. Also, I made a specific appeal to our military, sergeants, officers and soldiers, to those who were called up on the Russian Federation's territory and who are now stationed in Lithuania and other Baltic Republics. I appealed to them to observe Russian laws.

[Correspondent] What steps and actions are you prepared to undertake to defend the sovereignty of Russia and the Russian legislature? What are you prepared to do?

[Yeltsin] First, to be ready for this and to be vigilant every hour. Second, to take immediate measures for implementing the decision of the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies deeming that state security bodies on Russian territory should be subordinated to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and to set up a special Russian security committee. This should be done immediately. And the third point: We are increasingly arriving at the idea—this, of course, will be discussed at the Supreme Soviet and I am telling you this in a preliminary manner—that after all, it seems that we will not be able to defend sovereignty without a Russian army.

Yeltsin Says Law on Cost of Living Planned

LD1101234991 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 11 Jan 91

[Text] The leader of the Russian parliament, Boris Yeltsin, says Russia would soon adopt a law on living cost indices. He was speaking at a meeting with resident of the city of Cherepovets, a major center of the steel industry in the republic's north. Workers' grievances about poor food supplies were also discussed.

Official Says Gorbachev 'Forced' Into Policies

LD1401231991 Berlin ADN in German 1855 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Soviet Government has forced its reactionary course on President Gorbachev, Ruslan Khasbulatov, Russian Supreme Soviet vice president, says in the BERLINER ZEITUNG (Tuesday edition). The government has forced the president "to abandon his support for the Shatalin plan and made him adopt the course that he is now actually following."

This is a "reactionary course" with "half-hearted commitments" to private property. The government has succeeded in forcing its "vague, indecisive position" on the president. With reference to domestic policy, Khaslubatov favors the president giving some perspectives, "for this indecisiveness leads to a deepening of the crisis, and future developments can sweep away not only the democratic forces, but also Gorbachev himself".

Novosibirsk Democrats Protest Lithuanian 'Outrage'

LD1301210991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1243 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Text] I remind you once again that you are listening to news from Radio Rossii. I only wish to add that, as each minute goes by, we receive new telegrams connected with Lithuania. For example, the Novosibirsk organization of the Democratic Party of Russia has adopted an appeal to the public. It says:

Dear fellow citizens, in spite of assurances given by the chief of the general staff, and in violation of the laws of sovereign Russia, paratroopers have been sent to the sovereign Baltic republics under the pretext of ensuring that the latest round of conscription is carried out. This provocative action is unquestionably an outrage to the Baltic peoples. Similar action could occur in other republics.

We, the supporters of the Democratic Russia bloc in Novosibirsk, categorically protest against the provocative and unconstitutional actions of the top military hierarchy. We demand the immediate return of our sons from the Baltic republics and demand that the people who conceived and carried out this crime, which pushes us toward the abyss of a new civil war, should be made to answer for their actions.

Well, TASS has now put out a new report—this time, as you will appreciate, not headlined Lithuania. This is a report on the meeting taking place on Old Square in Moscow. As you know, that is where the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee is located. Well, they will seize on any opportunity to make out that people are holding an unruly meeting, when in fact there are no grounds for saying so at all. I absolutely disagree with this assertion.

No Confidence Move Planned Against Sobchak

LD1401203691 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1003 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Sergey Berezinskiy, a deputy of the Leningrad Soviet, who has arrived in Vilnius (?and will be in Vilnius for several days), and has been a good friend of ours for several years, has brought the following news. There was a mass protest in Palace Square in Leningrad on 13 January against the actions of the Soviet Army in Lithuania. Two hundred thousand Leningraders heaped shame on the murderers. They expressed their decisive support for the sovereignty and independence of the peoples of the Baltic.

Today, 14 January, at 1500, deputies will gather in the Blue Hall of Leningrad Soviet to call an extraordinary special session of the Leningrad Soviet. The main issue on the agenda will be Lithuania. Furthermore, the deputies intend to express no confidence in Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet. As is known, USSR People's Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak is linked with Gorbachev's policy and tried to prevent the holding of the protest rally on Palace Square. In this way he revealed definitely the kind of defender of democracy that he is. This image will no longer be able to deceive anyone. The victims call out for a just trial. And, also on trial should be the murderers and their henchmen.

Stankevich Assesses Moscow Food Situation

LD1201044491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1543 GMT 11 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—"It is impossible to completely rule out the possibility of a move to a ration card system but it is necessry to do everything within one's reach to avoid it", said Sergey Stankevich, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet. I think, he stressed, that we will still be able to avoid the introduction of cards. One must not go to extremes and try to present the situation in Moscow and the country as a whole as if it were similar to the one in Ethiopia or Sudan, said the capital's deputy mayor in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. First, our crisis is limited from a geographical viewpoint: It is confined above all to industrial cities, which are situated in [word indistinct].

Second, it is confined to a certain sensitive range of goods peculiar to us. Thus, it involves dairy products. The supply of milk has not yet been restored to its earlier level, although it has been increased compared with November last year when the crisis was at its peak.

On food aid from abroad, Sergey Stankevich recalled that Finland and France were the first to respond to the food aid appeal, in particular with milk powder supplies. They were followed by other countries. "This has enabled us", he stressed, "to overcome the most acute crisis, and at present Moscow has steadily managed to maintain a two-week reserve of milk powder."

Moscow Soviet Resumes Work on Consumer Issues

PM1001123591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Viktor Belikov report under the rubric "Direct Link": "Measures to Protect Trade in the Capital"]

[Text] Moscow City Soviet—The work of the Moscow City Soviet's second session resumed 8 January after the New Year break.

The first two plenary sittings will be devoted to adopting a decision on the program of transition to reducing state control and privatizing trade, public catering, and consumer services in the city, as well as completing the formation of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee leadership and structural subdivisions.

The question of reducing state control and privatizing a vitally important sector of the capital's economy is being examined by deputies in indissoluble connection with urgent measures to protect consumers during the period of transition to market relations. Many speeches noted the importance of introducing without delay the normed, guaranteed provision of basic foodstuffs for the population—meat, sausage products, animal and vegetable oil, groats, and pasta products.

This is connected, above all, with the fact that Zelenograd and many cities in Moscow Oblast have already introduced such distribution recently. Having a guaranteed range of foodstuffs on the spot, their residents supplement their stocks with purchases from Moscow stores. In practice, at the end of last year all foodstuffs were being sold when there was a speculative demand considerably in excess of the previous level. Stocks in stores and depots have fallen significantly.

The question of introducing special coupon cards in February or March this year to ensure guaranteed food supplies only to the city's residents in accordance with monthly norms and state prices will be examined at the session as one of the measures to protect Moscow's consumer market.

Western Republics

Tskhinvali 'Relatively Calm'

LD1401212391 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Tbilisi January 14 TASS—The situation in the city of Tskhinvali, the administrative centre of the South Ossetian Autonomous Region, and Dzhava district in the region, where the state of emergency was imposed, remained relatively calm today, the SAKARTVELO news agency reports.

There was no information about new casualties among civilians and servicemen. To restore communications in Tskhinvali, Soviet Interior Ministry troops put the regional communications center under their protection.

Troops are patrolling city streets in armoured carriers, seeking to prevent confrontation and bloodshed.

At the same time the press centre of the Georgian Interior Ministry reports that the situation in South Ossetia was tense over the past two days.

According to new data received by the centre, on the night of January 12 Georgian militia units, assisted by armoured carriers, began dismantling barricades built in various areas of the city.

Unidentified people opened fire during this operation. During the skirmish, a militia major was wounded.

In the evening of January 13, after the curfew, a group of terrorists attacked militia cadets who were carrying foodstuffs to a village by bus. Attackers threw hand grenades at the bus and then fired a burst from a submachine-gun.

The bus overturned. Cadets returned fire. An armoured carrier of Soviet Interior Ministry forces arrived at the place and began shooting into the air. The attackers fled after this.

There were no casualties among the the militia cadets.

Ukraine Expresses 'Deep Concern' Over Lithuania

LD1401200191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Kiev, 14 Jan (UKRINFORM-TASS)—The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today expressed deep concern at the development of events in and around Lithuania.

The statement it adopted notes that the Ukraine's supreme legislative organ advocates ensuring constitutional order and respect for the law in any region, supports the legally elected organs of state power in the republics, and takes the position that any violent acts against national statehood on the part of political parties and public and other groupings are illegal.

The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet considers impermissible the use of military force on the territory of any republic for resolving internal policy and interethnic conflicts without the consent of the legal organs of power of the republic. The contradictions that arise in the process of forming a new community of peoples of the USSR have to be addressed exclusively by peaceful means.

The supreme legislative organ of the Ukraine considers as immoral and illegal actions which lead to interethnic conflicts and violations of human rights, condemns discrimination against people on ethnic grounds, and urges all those involved in the conflict in the Republic of Lithuania not to permit its escalation, but to do everything possible for its peaceful settlement.